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Clitic Right Dislocation in Italian

A Syntactic and Prosodic investigation

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Introduction

Within modern linguistics studies, Right Dislocation (RD) is one of the most challenging constructions to define in derivational terms. Similar to other structures involving dislocation, RD shows a tight interconnection between Syntax, Prosody and Informational Structure (IS), and therefore any analysis is forced to engage into a discussion that concerns multiple levels of factors. Despite these difficulties, the fact that several formal accounts have been proposed in the literature, but still there seems to be no full agreement among scholars on the nature of RD, is perhaps the most fascinating aspect in the research on this construction. In this thesis I will provide an overview of the existing syntactic and prosodic analyses of Italian RD, and I will test their predictions with new data.

From a syntactic point of view, RD represents a tough challenge for the majority of models in terms of word order, binding relations and interface properties. As we will show, classical accounts are mostly concerned with the definition of the mechanism to derive the right-hand word order and on the binding relations (Kayne 1994, Cecchetto 1999 2000). In these regards, we can identify at least three families of syntactic analyses: base-generated analyses, movement analyses and biclausal analyses. Each one of these options has important repercussion on the overall analysis and generates predictions which must be borne out. However, these strictly syntactic factors remain the most problematic ones, and indeed represent only a small part of the properties connected to RD. Interestingly, all the analyses point to a more general question about the limits of the syntactic component, and therefore, on the nature itself of RD as an interface phenomenon. As a result, on the one hand some analyses try to model RD as mainly prosody-driven by splitting the prosodic constraints and features from the syntactic structure (Giorgi 2015, Samek-Lodovici 2015); on the other, some treat RD as mostly pragmatically motivated (Ott 2017) by giving a discourse analysis account.

A purely syntactic account of Italian RD would be clearly problematic and too simplistic. In fact, the literature on the prosodic properties of this construction has shed lights on interesting factors which are only in part connected to strictly syntactic traits: the systematic association between RD and a specific intonational contour (Giorgi 2015,

Frascarelli and Hinterholzl 2007), the tight connection to the Focus of the utterance (Bocci 2013, Samek-Lodovici 2015), the interaction between IS features (such as Givenness and Focus) and prosodic structure. These findings point to the problem of the nature of the interaction between different components (Syntax, Prosody and IS), and consequently, rise the very important question whether some syntactic conclusion can be inferred from a prosodic analysis. Two paths can be taken at this point: assuming an isomorphism between Syntax-Prosody and IS, or assuming non-isomorphism between these levels. As it will be shown, both positions are problematic for different reasons, and in particular a non-isomorphism view is not going to be able to connect the levels of analysis.

The fundamental questions that underlie this thesis are the following:

- (a) What are the most relevant syntactic and prosodic accounts of Italian RD? What are their strengths and their weaknesses?
- (b) How well can these accounts explain new data?
- (c) Can we express a preference between one of the available accounts based on new data and experiments?

Question (a) is discussed in Chapter 1 and 2: the former reviews syntactic accounts and the latter prosodic ones, with the relative debates and data from the literature. Issues (b) and (c) are examined together with the presentation of new syntactic data and a prosodic experiment: Chapter 3 is dedicated to an in-depth analysis of new data concerning the morpho-syntax of Italian CLRD and a discussion about some problematic aspects of two competing analyses, while Chapter 4 shows a prosodic experiment conducted on Italian speakers about the prosodic properties of RD within different contexts. Finally, Chapter 5 contains the conclusions and some further remarks. Regarding question (c), it is worth noting that, although a strong preference for one account over another will be welcomed, this is neither expected nor imperative for the intents of this study. Intuitively, the picture is very complicated and it will be almost impossible to express a categorical decision on the debate. However, the main aim of this thesis is to articulate a general preference on the basis of both syntactic and prosodic evidence and, hopefully, to provide new data which will be useful for further analyses on the matter.

1 Syntactic accounts for Italian RD

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 RD a general overview

Right Dislocation (RD) is a very common construction in Italian that in general terms consists of an informational marked constituent in the Right Periphery of the clause. Together with other constructions such as Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTD) and Focus Fronting, it is part of a more general syntactic mechanism: Dislocation (Syntactic Extraposition SE). This mechanism is used among languages as a marking strategy for informational structure features, and it very often correlates with a specific prosody contour. In particular for both Italian Left and Right Dislocation there is common agreement among scholars to postulate the presence of an Aboutness feature, namely [+topic] (Samek-Lodovici 2015, Alexiadou 2017). This is one of the many reasons that led linguists to try to give a compact analysis of the two constructions.

Superficially the two basic elements of the syntactic structure of RD are: a dislocated element on the right side of the sentence and a Resumptive Element (RE), typically a clitic pronoun that agrees with the right dislocated phrase (RD-phrase):

- (1) a. (L') ho presa io la macchina
it.CL have taken I the car
"I took the car"
- b. (Ci) siamo stati l'anno scorso a Roma
there.CL have been last year in Rome
"We went last year in Rome"

Although the RE is generally considered to be optional in Italian for RD (Cecchetto 1999 2000, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, Samek-Lodovici 2015), Cardinaletti (2002) and Cruschina (2010) have proposed instead that the distribution of clitic doubling in RD is not optional, but instead is connected to structural properties. They claim therefore, the existence in Italian of two distinct constructions: (a) Clitic Right

Dislocation (CLRD), which involves RD and clitic doubling, and (b) Marginalization, which is the clitic-less variant.

According to the authors these two constructions have different syntactic structures, pragmatic meanings and prosodic correlates. According to Cruschina (2010) this distinction is parallel to another one involving two constructions at the Left Periphery (LP): CLLD (with clitic doubling) and Simple Preposing (SP).¹

It should be noted that CLRD and CLLD have been widely studied from a syntactic point of view both in Romance languages (mostly Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Greek) and Germanic languages (German, Dutch, English), and the two main properties that seems to hold for both group of languages are: (1) the connection to Topic; (2) the similar superficial structure. The *locus* of major variation is the type of RE (clitic, d-pronoun and personal pronoun) and the pragmatic meaning of the dislocated elements. (Grohmann 1997, Alexiadou 2017)

According to these facts the most important syntactic features of RD to explain are the dislocation mechanism, the nature of the RE, the connectivity between the RD-phrase element and the RE, the derivation of the rightward order. As it will be shown the most common analyses diverges in principle on the explanation of these facts, and in fact still nowadays there seems to be no agreement on a syntactic account for this construction. In §1.1.2 we will discuss in more detail the general problems regarding these properties and the main solutions adopted in the literature.

Most of the available analyses of RD for Italian are designed within the Cartographic approach of clause structure, or at least a model with a Split Left Periphery (after Rizzi 1997). If these models come in handy for dealing with informational structure features, such as Topic, some authors point out that “matching the feature of the heads already present in the relevant positions [...] says nothing about the observations that the items in the left periphery are associated to a strong intonational pattern and belong to a discourse level” (Giorgi 2015: 238) and moreover that “cartographic analyses fall short of explaining generalizations about syntactic and

¹ It is a peculiarity of Italian to have such parallel constructions (a strong one and a weak one), the motivation is a sensitivity to the value of the feature [\pm anaphoric] of the Topic. Such that [+anaphoric] Topics require clitic doubling structures (CLLD/CLRD) and [-anaphoric] Topics cliticless constructions.

interpretive properties of Σ s [= dislocated phrases], but rather restate these in terms of largely unconstrained peripheral template” (Ott 2017: 2). As a solution these authors have proposed unified accounts for Dislocation phenomena where the main focus is on the prosodic properties of dislocation structures (Giorgi 2015) and on the pragmatic-discourse (Ott 2017). In particular Ott’s (2017) *biclausal analysis* represents a very interesting alternative to more classical accounts of both Left and Right Dislocation, because of its conciseness in accounting for a lot of the main features cited above.

In this chapter we will illustrate some of the main analyses of Italian RD available in the literature, based on the main formal issues that this construction presents; pros and cons will be discussed for each account. The structure for this chapter is as follows: section 1.1.2 as already mentioned presents general issues about the formalization of RD and the main solutions of the syntactic analyses; section 1.2 presents the base-generation approaches with a focus on Cardinaletti’s (2002) analysis of Marginalization (§1.2.3.2); section 1.3 is about the movement approaches, both in a clause external and clause internal perspective; section 1.4 presents Ott’s (2017) biclausal analysis and the relative discussion for RD.

1.1.2 Syntactic accounts: general issues and solutions

A prerequisite for a syntactic analysis of RD is the discussion of the rightward movement of a phrase. In the literature there is general agreement that from Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom a very clear constraint derives: in syntax no rightward movement is allowed (Sanchez 2017). Given this axiom, one very common way of deriving rightward order is to postulate a double leftward movement: first the RD-phrase moves to the left of its clause, then the remnant clause moves to the left of the RD-phrase.

This opens a very important debate on whether RD (specifically CLRD) can be treated as derived from CLLD with further leftward movement of IP (Giorgi 2015, Cecchetto 1999). Having a unified account for CLRD and CLLD is one of the main points in discussion regarding the syntax of this construction; in this sense a very important piece of evidence would be whether the structural position of the dislocated element is the same in the two constructions or not (see Samek-Lodovici 2015 for discussion).

As already mentioned, the main themes of discussion for a syntactic analysis of RD are:

- (a) the structural position of RD-phrase;
- (b) whether the RD-phrase is moved or base generated;
- (c) how to derive final order;
- (d) the nature of the RE;
- (e) connectivity between dislocated phrase and RE.

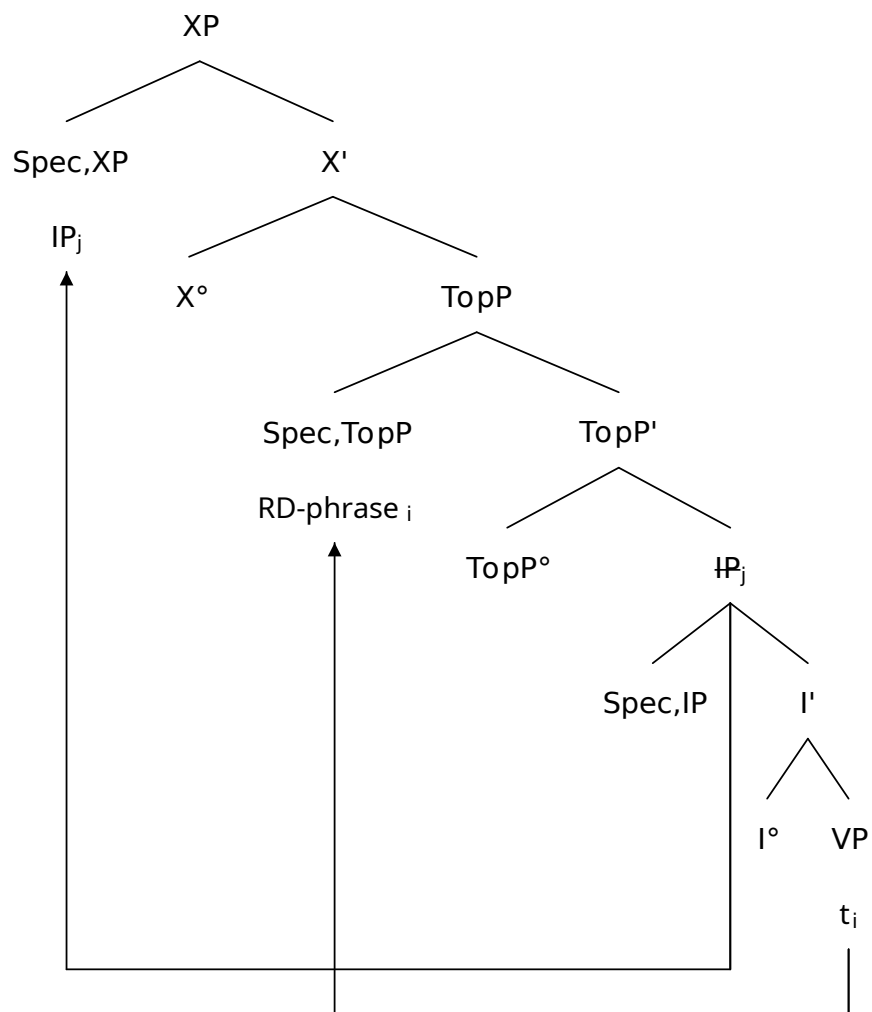
Syntactic accounts diverge in principle on three possibilities for explaining the extraposition mechanism of a constituent:

- i. the dislocated phrase is moved from its A-position to a peripheral position
- ii. the dislocated phrase is base-generated in its peripheral position
- iii. the dislocated phrase is a remnant of an elliptical sentence from an original biclausal structure.

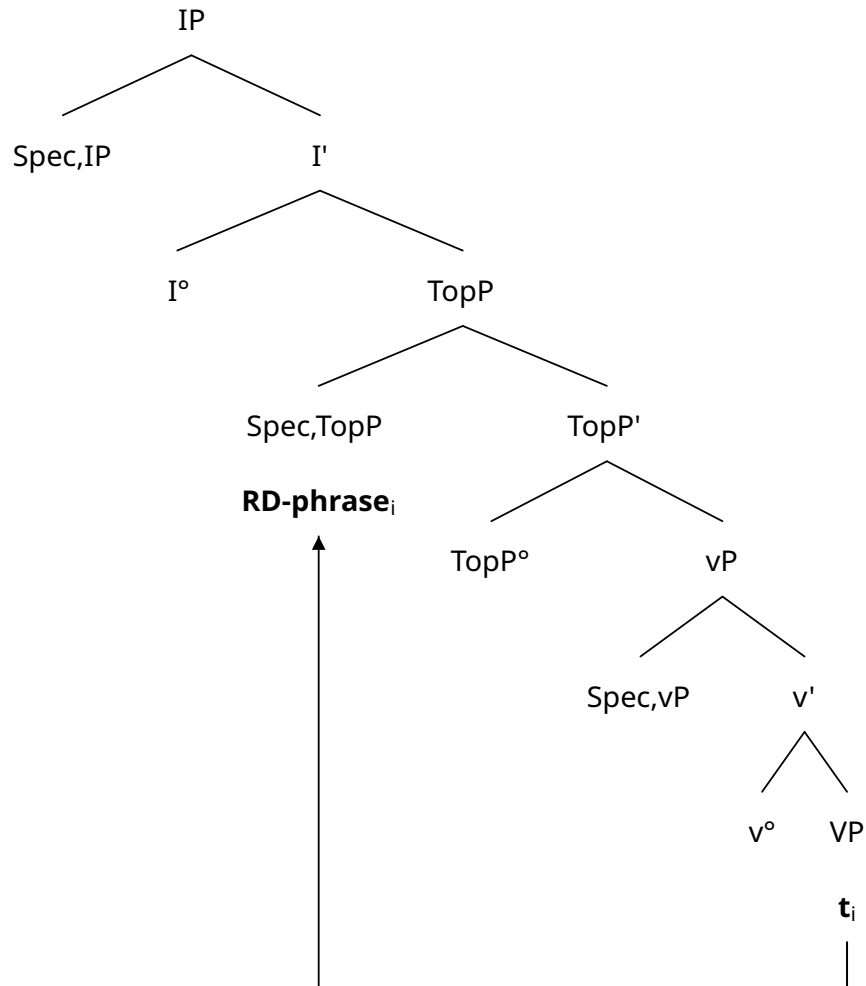
Note that this distinction is at the core of the classic debate on CLLD starting from Cinque (1990) (Alexiadou 2017), but in RD the picture is slightly more complex given

that, to derive the final order, we must postulate two operations on two constituents: the dislocation of the marked constituent and the remnant movement of the IP to the left of that constituent. Therefore, for a movement analysis like (i) there can be two possibilities (Cruschina 2022):

- (a) *clause external analysis*: the RD-phrase is moved outside the IP (i.e. in a left peripheral position); this implies a successive movement of the IP to a higher position;



(b) *clause internal analysis*: the RD-phrase is moved inside the IP (middle-field analysis)



This opposition is also valid for base-generated approaches, where the internal vs. external position of the RD-phrase is not the landing site of a movement operation, but instead the position where it is base-merged. In a base-generated clause external analysis therefore the RD-phrase is postulated to be merged in a Left Peripheral position, while, in a clause internal one, the RD-phrase remains *in-situ* and receives interpretation by means of specific mechanisms at LF.

A very important thing should be mentioned about these different analyses: while (a) is postulating a similar structural position for dislocated element in RD and CLLD, (b) is

posing a difference between the two constructions. This unified account of CLLD and RD give rise certain predictions and hypothesis that will be further discussed in §1.3.2.1. In *Table 1* there is a sum of the main solutions for analyses of the type (i) and (ii):

Table 1: Main properties of base-generation vs. movement analyses

	<i>Base-generation</i>		<i>Movement</i>	
	<i>Cl-internal</i>	<i>Cl-external</i>	<i>Cl-internal</i>	<i>Cl-external</i>
<i>RD-phrase</i>	in-situ	LP position	A-position > middle-field (below the IP)	A-position > LP position
<i>IP</i>	in-situ	IP-inversion	in-situ	IP-inversion

For what concerns the clitic doubling, base-generated accounts analyze the RE, in general terms, as an argument co-referential with the dislocated phrase. This is the case for both CLLD and CLRD analyses in Cinque (1990), Iatridou (1991) and Giorgi (2015). The main issue that these analyses would have to explain is how to derive the connectivity effects with the RD-phrase without structural proximity.²

In a movement analysis, instead, we have respectively two possibilities:

- (a) the clitic is a doubling of the moved phrase (building on Torrego’s (1992) BigDP analysis): connectivity derives from spec-head agreement between the Clitic and the DP:

CLLD: Cecchetto (2000), Agouraki (1993)

CLRD: Kayne (1994), Cecchetto (1999), Samek-Lodovici (2015)

- (b) the clitic is a spell-out of the trace of the moved phrase³

As a general remark concerning the complexities of this theoretical framework, it is worth noting that a *consensus* has yet to be reached in the literature regarding the competing analyses of movement-based and base-generated approaches. The main source of the debate is however well known and documented since the first studies on

² This was actually the main goal of postulating the mechanism of Binding Chains in Cinque (1990) (Cruschina 2022).

³ For CLLD see Cinque (1977) for Italian and Grohmann (1997) for Left Dislocation in germanic languages.

CLLD by Cinque (1990): CLRD (similarly to CLLD) shows properties typically associated with movement (e.g. island sensitivity, reconstruction effects for binding, see §1.2.4.1 examples (26) and (27)) as well as properties typically associated with base-generation (e.g. no Parasitic Gaps, no Weak Cross Effect, see §1.2.1 example (5)). This is sometimes known as the Cinque's Paradox, because it was first brought to light by Cinque about CLLD (Alexiadou 2017, Cruschina 2022).

The main solutions that have been adopted to overcome this difficulty in the analysis of CLLD are (1) Binding Chains (Cinque 1990), that 'simulate' movement effects, and (2) BigDP hypothesis, in which the dislocated element and the clitic are merged in the same constituent and then moved (Cruschina 2022).

The third (iii) possibility, that diverges quite a bit from the other in being mainly based on a discourse analysis, is proposed by Ott (2014, 2017): biclausal structure with ellipsis. The starting point according to Ott is a double structure with two parallel complete clauses (CPs). This parallel structure is derived by a Question Driven Discourse mechanism, the hypothesis that the speaker is continuously answering implicit questions, based on contextual presupposition, to ensure discourse coherence. The final order is reached with the ellipsis of the redundant material. The connectivity effects and the main properties of RD therefore are only 'apparent' and due to the parallel structure (Ott 2017, Cruschina 2022). The structures for exemple (1) would be:

- (2) a. [CP1 l'ho presa io][CP2 ~~ho preso io~~ la macchina]
 b. [CP1 ci siamo stati l'anno scorso] [CP2 ~~l'anno scorso siamo stati~~ a Roma]

1.2 Base generation approaches

1.2.1 Main arguments

The arguments in favor of a base generation approach are based on Cinque's (1990) tests for the absence of movement in CLLD. These will be discussed in detail in §1.3.1. In more general terms, the two properties that show lack of A'-movement and on which

there's general agreement are the absence of Weak Crossover effect (WCO) and the absence of Parasitic Gaps (PGs) (Giorgi 2015, Sanchez 2017).

WCO arises when a moved phrase crosses over a pronoun with which it is coindexed, blocking the binding relation with its own trace. This is typical of focus fronting and it is taken to represent a clear cue of movement:

- (3) ?*GIANNI_i sua_i madre ama t_{Gianni,i}
 Gianni his mother loves

PGs are gaps (i.e. empty categories) that depends on other gaps in the sentence. For instance in (4) the complex wh-item *which books* is interpreted as the direct object of both *search* and *finding*. The classic analysis of this phenomena is that *which book* is only moved from the argumental position of *search*, and therefore the PG is anaphoric, and depends on the first gap (Utrecht Lexicon of Linguistics):

- (4) *Which book* did you search ___ without finding ____{PG} ?

Crucially RD does not allow both WCO and PGs, as shown in (5):

- (5) a. Sua_i madre l'_i ha sempre apprezzato, Gianni_i
 his mother him has always appreciated John
 "His mother has always appreciated him, Gianni"
 b. * L'ho cercato ___ senza trovare ____{PG} quel libro
 it have searched without finding that book
 "(*)I've searched it without finding, that book"

According to Giorgi (2015), among others, these facts can be explained by postulating the absence of movement, so that in (5a) there is no moment of the derivation in which the moved phrase crosses the pronoun, and in (5b) the PG is not licensed because there is actually no gap.

1.2.2 Clause internal analysis

For a more complete picture it is worth to look briefly at one of the first analysis of romance RD, the one in Kayne (1994). His proposal can be summarized in two steps:

(1) the dislocated phrase is generated *in-situ* in its argumental position; (2) it undergoes LF-movement to a fronted position (the same as CLLD). This movement is motivated by a feature that also provides specific prosodic contour (Sanchez 2017). The impossibility of a clitic doubling structure without dislocation in Italian is accounted with a specific constraint that blocks the clitic to c-command its double at LF: the covert movement therefore ensures that the DP is out of the c-command domain of the clitic, as it is shown by the structural representation in (6b):

- (6) a. Gianni la vede spesso, Maria
 Gianni her sees often, Mary
 Gianni sees her often, Mary
 b. LF: [_{TP} Maria_i] [_{TP} Gianni la vede spesso *t_i*]

The main problems for this account concern the *in-situ* position of the RD-phrase and the Clitic Doubling (CD) inside TP for those languages (like Italian) that do not allow it. We will not go much in details about the first issue, but in sum what seems to be crucial according to Sanchez (2017) is crosslinguistical evidence (Catalan, Zulu) that RD does not show the same word order of the corresponding non-dislocated sentences when adverbs and adjuncts are present. This seems to hold also for Italian, compare the three sentences:

- (7) a. Ho messo il coltello nel cassetto
 (I) have put the knife in the drawer
 "I put the knife in the drawer"
 b. *L' ho messo, il coltello, nel cassetto
 it (I) have put the knife in the drawer
 c. L' ho messo nel cassetto, il coltello
 it (I) have put in the drawer the knife

If RD only involves LF-movement, then nothing prevents the ungrammaticality of (7b).⁴

⁴ Note that sentence (7b) becomes grammatical if also *nel cassetto* goes under RD and the verb is focused:

(i) Ce l' ho MESSO, il coltello, nel cassetto
 There it (I) have put the knife in-the drawer

Moreover, this analysis does not differentiate Marginalization (i.e. destressed constituent *in-situ*) from RD, hence predicting a free order between the two. However, Cardinaletti (2002) has shown that marginalized objects obligatorily precede right-dislocated ones (Samek-Lodovici 2015):

(8) *Context:* Sei TORNATO in treno da Roma?

"Did you come back from Rome by train?"

a. No. Ci sono ANDATO in treno_M, a Roma_{RD}

"No. I WENT by train, to Rome"

b. *No. Ci sono ANDATO, a Roma_{RD}, in treno_M

"No. I WENT, to Rome, by train "

A final problem of Kayne's account concern the optionality of clitic doubling in RD. Assuming with Samek-Lodovici (2015) the possibility of no clitic doubling in RD, there would be no motivation for the LF-movement postulated here, because the RD-phrase would be no more in the c-command of a clitic. A way of dealing with this issue would be assuming the existence of null-clitics. However this proposal will be shown to be untenable by Cardinaletti (2002). See §1.2.3.2 for this and for the discussion about the problem of clitic doubling in Italian.

1.2.3 Clause external analysis

In general terms these analyses claim that RD-phrase is base generated in a position external to the IP, most likely a Left Peripheral position. These accounts are frequently built on Cinque's (1990) analysis on CLLD, and they share the same assumptions on evidences for absence of movement (WCO and PGs).

This can be analyzed as a double covert movement at LF, first the locative moves to the fronted position, then the object.

1.2.3.1 Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) and Giorgi (2015)

One of the most important works for this type of account is Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), about Topic constructions. The core of the paper is to establish a precise hierarchy for different kind of Topics in the CP-layer:

- (9) [ShiftP_[+aboutness] [ContrP [FocP [FamP* [IP

Noting that right-hand topics always show a L* prosodic contour, which is generally associated with Familiarity Topics (which denotes constituents that brings information already introduced in the discourse), and building on Cinque's (1990) claim that topics are always base generated, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl conclude that FamP must be the position where RD-topics are base-merged and IP must target a higher GroundP position to derive the rightward order. The dislocated topic receives the correct interpretation by virtue of a *pro* in its theta-position. The motivation for the IP-movement is accounted for by postulating an EPP feature in C-layer that triggers the inversion "to yield for new interpretative options, i.e. scope or discourse-related properties" (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007: 12) connected to the specificity of Familiarity topics (i.e. not conveying contrast). In other words, the IP-movement is linked to some syntax-informational structure requirement concerning the interpretation of the topic.⁵

Syntactic evidence for this analysis are given with scope, binding and minimality effects.

Consider the sentences:

- (10) a. Maria_k ha presentato [ad ogni ospite]_j [il suo_{k/j} vicino di tavolo]
 b. Maria_k lo ha presentato [ad ogni ospite]_j, [il suo_{k/*?j} vicino di tavolo]
 Maria him has introduced to every guests his/her table mate

⁵ Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl note that contrast and focus must play an important role in these regards. Assuming contrast as a functional feature instead of an inherent property of Focus or Topics, and noting that right-hand topic cannot bear contrast, they claim that IP-inversion is probably triggered by this contrast-feature in the C higher layer, to enable the right IS hierarchy (see §2.3.1).

(i) Non è questione che **il tempo**_i non te l'ho dato, io te l'ho DATO **il tempo**_i
 not be the point that the time not to-you have given I to-you ithave given the time

"The point is not that I didn't give you time. I DID give you time."

Here *il tempo* is LDed in the first sentence and RD-phrase (i.e. familiarity topic) in the second, and the crucial factor is that the IP part of the sentence (*te l'ho dato*) gets a clear contrastive meaning in the second sentence but not in the first (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007).

In (10a) both the DP *Maria* and the QP *ad ogni ospite c-comand il suo vicino di tavolo*, and therefore both can be valid candidates to bind the possessive pronoun *suo*. However in the (10b) *Maria* is the only possible binder for the pronoun. This contrast can only be explained by postulating an IP-inversion to a higher position: in this way *Maria* is the highest NP, while *ad ogni ospite* is embedded in the moved IP.

(11) [GP [IP $Maria_k$ lo ha presentato [ad ogni ospite]_j] [TopP il suo_{k/?*} vicino di tavolo] t_{IP}

Moreover Familiarity topics show an optionality in clitic resumption, consider the contrast and similarities between (10) and (12), which contains a non-resumed Familiarity topic:

(12) $Maria_k$ ha presentato [ad ogni ospite]_j,[il suo_{k/j} vicino di tavolo]

Given that (12) shares binding properties with (10a), it is possible to postulate a reconstruction in IP internal position for *il suo vicino di tavolo*. Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl propose then a double analysis for familiarity topics:

- (a) when clitic-resumed: merge directly in FamP with IP-inversion
- (b) when non clitic-resumed: movement from A-position to FamP, and reconstruction for interpretation.

Another similar analysis, mainly based on prosody and pragmatics, is put forward by Giorgi (2015). The main points of her proposal are:

- CLLD is base generated in a position higher than CP: Spec,DisIP. This is a Prosody Oriented Head, namely a head with phonological content that projects in syntax but has no syntactic content;
- CLRD is derived similarly and the mechanism for achieving rightward order is parallel to the derivation of parentheticals⁶. In sum: another DisIP above the first one host in its Spec a copy of the low CP; the phonological content of this head

6 The syntactic analysis of parentheticals is discussed in Giorgi (2015 2018). The main idea is that the 'comma feature' in the prosody of these structures is a prosody-oriented head in syntax (KP). This head is higher than the CP-layer, and the mechanism of derivation, even if not entirely clear, is somehow similar to a biclausal structure with final ellipsis of the doubling material. As an example, the derivation of the free indirect discourse sentence *I will leave tomorrow, John said*:

(i) [_{KP}[I will leave tomorrow] **K** [*John said*]_{KP} **K** ~~I will leave tomorrow~~]]

is the comma intonation (i.e. a short pause between the matrix clause and the dislocated element); ellipsis applies to the lower copy of CP;

- in both constructions clitics (if present) occupy the argumental position.

Sentence (13) is an example of the derivation of sentence (1b) under this approach. KP is the constituent marked with the prosodic *comma feature*:

(13) [_{KP} Ci siamo stati l'anno scorso **Dis** [a Roma **Dis** [~~Ci siamo stati l'anno scorso~~]]]

This analysis is not substantially very different from Ott (2017), but it underlines more clearly the prosody-syntax interface nature of dislocations, giving an explanation to "the systematic association of these phrases with a peculiar intonation" (Giorgi 2015). Moreover apart from the details in terms of syntactic account, Giorgi addresses the need of defining more precisely and experimentally what exactly are the intonational properties connected to these constructions, which is one of the main purpose of this work.

1.2.3.2 Marginalization vs Right Dislocation (Cardinaletti 2002)

In her 2002 paper *Against optional and null clitics* Anna Cardinaletti addresses the problem of clitic optionality in RD constructions. Her claim is that this optionality is only apparent, and that the two constructions correspond in fact to two different syntactic structures.

- (14) a. L' ho già comprato il giornale
 it.CL have alreadybought the newspaper
 b. Ho già comprato il giornale
 Have already bought the newspaper

She names these two structures respectively Right Dislocation (14a) and Marginalization (14b), and the structural representation she proposes is as follows:

- (15) a. [_{XP} [_{IP} *pro* l'ho già comprato] X° [_{DP} il giornale]] (RD)
 b. [_{IP} *pro* ho [_{FP} già [_{AspP} comprato_i [_{VP} *t_i* il giornale]]]] (Marg)

In RD the dislocated constituent is base-generated in a clause external position, and the IP is in the Spec of a not specified XP; in Marginalization the right-hand element is VP-

internal and *in-situ*. These representations make strong predictions that will be addressed in §1.2.4.2 in particular concerning the c-command relations in RD.

Cardinaletti proposes a list of 8 arguments in favor of the distinction between the structures: I will only discuss those that are more relevant to our discussion.

1. *Argument order*: in RD (16) the order of the argument is apparently free, while in Marginalization (17) is followed the *in-situ* order:

- (16) a. Ce l'ha nascosto il bambino il libro sotto il letto
 There it has hidden the child, the book, under the bed
 b. Ce l'ha nascosto il bambino, sotto al letto, il libro
- (17) a. Ha nascosto il bambino, il libro, sotto il letto.
 b. ??Ha nascosto il bambino, sotto il letto, il libro.

2. *Objects co-occurring with complement clauses*: in Marginalization there is a strict order for objects and complement clauses, in this case (20) is ungrammatical because the object *Mario* is selected by the verb *convincere* and its base position is beside it; instead (19) shows according to Cardinaletti (2002) that the object is clause external.

- (18) Cosa hai convinto Mario [a fare] ? (*in-situ*)
 what [you] have convinced Mario to do?
- (19) Cosa l'hai convinto [a fare], Mario?
- (20) *Cosa hai convinto [a fare], Mario?

3. *Binding*: Cardinaletti shows that when a c-command relation is necessary between the subject of a matrix cause and the subject of an embedded clause, RD (21b) fails in the task due to the fact that *nessuno* is too low to c-command the *pro*.⁷

- (21) a. Non ha detto nessuno_i che *pro*_i avrebbe fatto queste cose
 not has said nobody, that [he] would-have done these things
 "Nobody says the he would have done these things"
 b. *Non l'ha detto nessuno_i che *pro*_i avrebbe fatto queste cose

⁷ Personally I disagree on the judgment of Cardinaletti, I don't find (21b) strongly ungrammatical.

4. *Interpretation*: Cruschina (2022), in support of this distinction, shows that while a RD-topic (22a) can have antecedent in the discourse (i.e. they can be [+Anaphoric]), Marginalized (22b) constituents cannot (i.e. they are [-Anaphoric])

- (22) a. A. Posso preparare io la cena?
 Can I make the dinner?
 B. No, la preparerà MARA, la cena
 No, it.CL make Mara, the dinner
- b. A. Posso cucinare io?
 Can cook I?
 B. No, preparerà MARA, la cena
 B.?No, la preparerà MARA, la cena

5. *Prosody*: building on the observations of Zubizarreta (1998), Cardinaletti draws a distinction in intonational properties for the two constructions:

- (a) RD shows a boundary between the dislocated constituent and the matrix clause, with independent pitch accents;
 (b) Marginalization instead, shows no boundaries, and no independent pitch accent on the dislocated element.

According to Cardinaletti, these properties on one hand give support to the clause-external analysis of RD, on the other characterize Marginalized phrases as a distressed constituents *in-situ*, hence a purely prosodic construction.

Beside the technical details of Cardinaletti's (2002) analysis, it must be said that the key point of her paper is to deny the two main solutions to account for the clitic optionality in RD, namely Lexical Optionality and Null Clitics. According to Cardinaletti, the former option is a violation of the Principle of Full Interpretation⁸ and the latter one is not tenable in a movement account of clitics derivation, because

⁸ Principle that "requires that every element of PF and LF, taken to be the interface of syntax (in the broad sense) [...] must receive an appropriate interpretation" (Chomsky *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origin, and use* 1986). In this case given that the clitic-resumed structure and the non clitic-resumed structure have different numerations they cannot have the same meaning

"something that is phonologically null does not need, and hence cannot, undergo this type of movement"⁹ (Cardinaletti 2002).

This last point opens a discussion about what type of derivation should be applied to clitics (discussion later in §1.3), and most importantly what is the nature and the origin of the XP head in (15). She proposes as a possible, but not definitive, solution a double topicalization analysis: two Top heads hosting respectively the dislocated phrase and the IP.

(23) [TopicP [IP *pro* l'ho già comprato t_k]_j Topic° [TopicP [DP *il giornale*]_k Topic° [IP t_j]]

Note that this movement based analysis is only hypothetical in Cardinaletti's work and she explicitly leaves open the question on whether this structure is definitive in opposition to that, more generic, in (15). For more details about this discussion and the nature of the X°, see below §1.2.4.2. In conclusion, what seems to be crucial in Cardinaletti (2002) is the *in-situ* nature of Marginalization in opposition to RD. The problem though of an actual derivation of RD remains unresolved.

1.2.3.3 Differences among base generated accounts

Although Cardinaletti (2002) does not take a definitive position on the derivation of RD, it is worth trying to briefly compare these different accounts on the most relevant syntactic features.

A first similarity regards the interpretation of RD-phrase: both Frascarelli & Hinterhölzen (2007) and Cardinaletti (2002) acknowledge a [+ Anaphoric] feature to the right-dislocated Topic in RD constructions, the only difference is that, while Frascarelli & Hinterhölzen propose more fine-grained analysis of the Topic semantics (with RD-phrase occupying FamTopP), Cardinaletti remains more generic (proposing the RD-phrase to occupy a TopP projection).

9 It is proposed that clitics derivation can be divided in two operations: XP-movement which is purely morphosyntactic in motivations (i.e. phi-features); head-movement which is to be considered a syntax-phonology interface operation (relative to the specific prosody of clitics). Note that this derivation is similar to the one proposed in §1.3 for the BigDP analysis

Another subtle similarity is that in both studies the RD-phrase of non clitic-resumed RD is assumed to establish different binding relations with the IP, compared to clitic-resumed RD. However, while Frascarelli & Hinterhölzen claim the former to be moved in a left peripheral position and then reconstructed, Cardinaletti (2002) claim it to remain *in-situ*.

If we assume for Cardinaletti's account the structure in (15), a major difference concerns the status of IP-inversion. While in Frascarelli & Hinterhölzen (2017) and in Giorgi (2015) is postulated an input structure similar to that of CLLD, followed by IP inversion, in Cardinaletti there is no such operation. This difference gives rise to clear predictions about the similarities of CLLD and RD in structural terms. For a more detailed discussion about the consequences of postulating a similar structure for CLLD and RD see below §1.3.1.

1.2.4 Problems for base generated accounts

1.2.4.1 General problems for base generated accounts

As exposed in §1.2.1 base generation accounts mostly point to the absence WCO and PGs as cues for the lack of movement. However, as Sanchez (2017) notices, this is not always the case. It is in fact possible, in some cases, to license of PGs (24) in RD. This fact casts doubts about the utility of PGs to determine the movement status of a phrase (Samek-Lodovici 2015, Sanchez 2017):

- (24) L'ha cercato per mesi senza mai trovare *pg* MARIA, il tuo cane (non la polizia)!
 it has sought for months without never find Maria, your dog (not the police)!
 'MARIA sought it for months without ever finding it, your dog, not the police!'

At the same time, WCO is not always present in A'-movement, see an example involving a non-restrictive relative:

- (25) Johnny_i, who_i his_i mother bought *t_i* a new car,...

Another set of data that is problematic for a base generation account is the one regarding movement evidences. In particular Reconstruction Effect and Island sensitivity are considered to be the most compelling proofs in this regard. In (26) if the anaphor is base generated in a clause external position, it cannot reconstruct and therefore it cannot be properly bound¹⁰:

- (26) Nessun operaio_i (l')ha ancora ricevuta_i, la propria_i paga
 Any worker (it) has still received, his own pay
 "No workers have yet received their pay"

In general RD shows sensitivity to strong islands, such as subject island (27a) and complex-NP island (27b); however this does not apply to weak islands, such as wh-island (27c):

- (27) a. *Che Gianni la presti mi sembra strano, la macchina
 That Gianni it lend to.me seems strange the car
 b. ?Ho sentito la notizia che Gianni lo ha risolto, il problema
 (I) have heard the news that Gianni it has solved the problem
 c. Maria si domanda dove tu lo abbia comprato, quel regalo
 Maria herself wonders where you it have bought that gift

Sensitivity to strong island "is generally taken as evidence for a syntactic dependency, and hence, for syntactic movement" (Cruschina 2022).

Finally, base-generated accounts have hard time in explaining connectivity between dislocated phrases and clitics. In particular as noted by Sanchez (2017), a base generation approach would predict the dislocated phrase to show default case (i.e. nominative) in languages with case morphology such as Dutch and German. This prediction is not borne out for RD (28a), but it is instead for Hanging Topic constructions (28b), that are generally assumed to be base generated in a Left Peripheral position.

¹⁰ Reconstruction becomes particularly evident with anaphoric binding and postverbal subject, in (i) *Gianni* in vP successfully binds the anaphor in the dislocated phrase:

(i) Li ha persi da piccolo Gianni_i, i propri_i genitori.
 them.cl has lost as little John the own parents
 "John lost them as a child, his parents." (Samek-Lodovici, 2015)

- (28) a. Ich kenne ihn schon lange, den Hans
 I know him since long, the.ACC Hans
- b. Der Hans, ich kenne diesen Kerl seit langem
 the.NOM Hans, I know this.ACC guy since long
 "I've known Hans for a long time"

1.2.4.2 Problems for Cardinaletti (2002)

Sanchez (2017) and Samek-Lodovici (2015) show different interpretations for Cardinaletti's (2002) model of RD, in terms of c-commanding relations between the dislocated phrases and the IP, in my opinion mainly due to the ambiguity present in Cardinaletti's work: the problem lies on the fact that both Sanchez and Samek-Lodovici makes predictions on the structure in (15a). However, from my understanding, that structure is just a scheme for Cardinaletti to show the final step of a derivation like that in (23); she does this in order not to take a definitive position on the derivation itself. Sanchez (2017) considers the complement of XP as completely external, therefore "it should be impossible for any constituent in the IP to bind the right dislocated phrase and that nothing should be able to extract from the dislocated constituent" (Sanchez 2017: 67); Samek-Lodovici (2015) does not consider the 'externality' as a problem for c-command relations, therefore the account in (15a) "incorrectly predicts the availability of wh-extraction from clitic-doubled right-dislocated phrases, since the latter occur in a complement and head-governed position" (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 150).

Beside these facts, Cecchetto (1999) points out a major theoretical problem for Cardinaletti's model. In fact if double topicalization is to be considered the derivation for (15a), this would led to a violation of the Proper Binding Condition: the clause in the highest Spec,XP would contain an unbound trace (Cecchetto 1999, Cardinaletti 2002). And this holds also for the double topicalization structure (23) proposed as a possible more fine grained analysis of RD.

This fact is also acknowledged by Cardinaletti, who leaves the question open and proposes two alternatives regarding the labeling of the X head in (15a):

we either identify X [...] with a Topic head [...] with the question raised by Cecchetto remaining as an open issue, or maintain with Kayne (1994:78) that an

antisymmetric account of Right Dislocation requires “as novel an analysis” [...] where the nature of the X head remains to be established. (Cardinaletti 2002: 28)

1.3 Movement approaches

1.3.1 Main arguments and overview

The main arguments in favor of a movement analysis of RD are: reconstruction effect (see §1.2.4.1, ex. (26)), island sensitivity (see §1.2.4.1, ex. (27)), locality effect in terms of case/number connectivity and theta role assignment (Sanchez 2017).

Samek-Lodovici (2015) interestingly shows that the classic Cinque's (1990) tests for detecting movement yield different results for CLLD and RD, and more in detail also for CLRD and clitic-less RD. Besides PGs and Successive Cyclicity, that are inconclusive, according to Samek-Lodovici, these tests include:

1. *ne-cliticization of a QP*: in Italian when a QP is moved *ne*-cliticization is mandatory (29a). Since this holds for RD (29b) but not for CLLD (29c), for the former movement is postulated, for the latter base-generation:

(29) a. Quanti ne sono rimasti?
 How-many of-them are left.plM
 "How many are left?"

b. So che Gianni *(ne) ha venduti IERI, cinquanta
 (I) know that Gianni of-them have sold yesterday fifty
 "I know that Gianni sold fifty YESTERDAY"

c. Cinquanta, so che Gianni li / *ne ha venduti IERI
 Fifty (I) know that Gianni them/of-them have sold yesterday
 "I know that Gianni sold fifty YESTERDAY"

2. *absence of mandatory clitic doubling*: according to Cinque (1990) the obligatory object-clitic doubling of CLLD is a consequence of base generation. In fact movement "would have create an operator-variable chain, allowing for a variable in object position which would make overt clitic doubling unnecessary"

(Samek-Lodovici 2015: 115)¹¹ for the right interpretation of the dislocated item. The optionality in RD clitic doubling is instead a proof of its movement nature, given that the trace in object position is a variable which is properly bound by an operator (see also §1.3.1.2);

3. *reconstruction effects*: we already discussed it in §1.2.1.4 for sentence (26);
4. *wh-extraction*: extraction from CLLD (30a) is not possible, due to the unselected nature of the Spec, while in RD (30b) is possible (when the clitic is absent) because wh-movement takes place before the dislocation (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 117)

- (30) a. *Cosa, [che avreste comprato]_{LD}, l'avete detto?
 What that (you) would-have bought (you) it have said
- b. Cosa (*l') avete detto, [che avreste comprato]_{RD}?
 What it (you) have said, that (you) would-have bought?

5. *dislocation from tensed and untensed complements*: wh-extraction from complements of factive verbs is sensitive to the finiteness vs. non finiteness of the complement verb, more specifically is ungrammatical in the former (31b) and grammatical in the latter (30b).

- (31) a. Dove è felice di andare?
 Where is (he) happy to go
- b. *Dove è felice che vai?
 Where is (he) happy that (you) go

CLLD (32) shows no such sensitivity because is generated higher than the factive verb, while RD obey this constraint. This means that RD-phrase is extracted lower than the factive verb.

- (32) *Context*: Marco è felice di andare a Roma

¹¹ The full explanation for this point actually concerns the Empty Category Principle. Briefly, the base generation accounts rules out "the presence of a variable in object position, while all other potential empty categories are also excluded for independent reasons (pro is not identified, PRO is governed, an anaphoric NP-trace is unlicensed because unbound in its governing category)" (Samek-Lodovici 2015). For more detailed discussion see Cinque (1990).

- "Marco is happy to go to Rome"
- a. No. A Roma, è felice di andarci GIANNI (CLLD)
 No. To Rome, is happy of going-there Gianni
 "No. As for Rome, GIANNI is happy to go there"
- b. ?No. A Roma, è felice che ci vai GIANNI (non Marco)
 No. To Rome, is happy that there (you) go Gianni (not Marco)
 "No. As for Rome, GIANNI is happy tyou go there"
- (33) a. No. É felice di andarci GIANNI, a Roma (CLRD)
 b. *No. É felice che ci vai GIANNI, a Roma
- (34) a. No. É felice di andare GIANNI, a Roma (cl-less RD)
 b. *No. É felice che vai GIANNI, a Roma

Note that this test in Samek-Lodovici (2015) actually shows the movement nature of RD vs the base-generation nature of CLLD. Personally, I disagree on finding grammatical (32b). However, this fact only point to a symmetrical analysis of CLLD and RD as movement based, and it is not a problem for the point in discussion here. The crucial phenomenon is the parallelism with example of movement structures in (31). For a detailed discussion see Samek-Lodovici (2015) §4.4. *Table 2* summarizes the above results. In conclusion we can say that there is strong empirical evidence to differentiate RD analysis from CLLD.

Table 2: Cinque's (1990) tests for movement

	<i>RD [-clitic]</i>	<i>RD [+clitic]</i>	<i>CLLD</i>
1. <i>Obligatory ne-cliticization</i>	✓	✓	✓
2. <i>No mandatory clitic</i>	✓		✓
3. <i>Reconstruction effects</i>	✓	✓	no
4. <i>wh-extraction from dislocated phrase</i>	✓	no	✓
5. <i>Finiteness blocking extraction</i>	✓	✓	✓

One of the main mechanisms to account for connectivity in movement approaches is the so-called BigDP analysis. Given that in some languages (e.g. Modern Greek, Northern Italian varieties) is available a Clitic Doubling structure (CD) for non

informationally-marked arguments, the BigDP analysis postulates that the clitic and the double NP are generated as part of one constituent (i.e. BigDP), with the Clitic being the head and the double being in the Spec. One of the main pros of this analysis is that agreement between the clitic and the double comes straightforwardly from a spec-head configuration. In these regards CLLD and CLRD are analyzed as extractions from CD constructions (Alexiadou 2017, Cecchetto 1999, Samek-Lodovici 2015).

At this point a very common criticism concerns the status of these analysis for languages that do not allow CD, but do have CLLD and CLRD (e.g. French, Italian). Two hypotheses for dealing with this criticism. Firstly, Cecchetto (1999) observes that in Romance languages a generalization holds: "If a language has clitic doubling in a certain context, it has CLLD in that context too, but the reverse situation does not hold" (Cecchetto 2000). According to him this restriction is caused by an economy principle based on DP-CP symmetry, namely *Doubly Filled Voice Filter*: the spell out of both Spec and Head of a XP is NOT allowed if they encode the same information, except if one is a trace (not visible at spell-out) (Cecchetto 1999). In CP it does not allow to spell a wh-item and a COMP at the same time (e.g. **cosa che*); in CLLD because one element is a trace (namely the double), the clitic can be spelled-out.¹²

The other hypothesis for dealing with languages that do not allow CD would be to postulate a null clitic. Besides the arguments against null clitics already mentioned in §1.2.3.2 from Cardinaletti (2002), Samek-Lodovici (2015) shows four evidence against this option: lack of Past Participle agreement in no clitic constructions, no other contexts for CD other than dislocations, constraints on clitic allowed in the dislocation of QP, binding phenomena in clitic-less RD (for more details Samek-Lodovici (2015) §4.2.1.1). These facts lead Samek-Lodovici (2015) to different analysis for CLRD and bare RD, the former involving BigDP, while the latter not.

In general terms the common steps for the analyses that will be discussed in this work are:

- BigDP: spec-head configuration of the clitic and the double NP;

¹² Note that this explanation relies on the assumption that at spell-out the clitic is still in the head of BigDP, and that the movement to the left of the verb takes place in the phonological part of the derivation. For a detailed discussion see Cecchetto (2000) §4.

- dislocation of the DP from Spec,BigDP to a peripheral position;
- movement of the clitic, from BigD°, to left adjoin the IP.

The main advantages of these movement accounts are to explain easily the agreement morphology between the clitic and the double, to explain easily theta-role assignment given that both the clitic and the double are in A-position and to account for movement evidences.

1.3.2 Clause internal analysis

1.3.2.1 Asymmetries between LD and RD (Cecchetto 1999)

The most important pieces of evidence for a clause internal analysis of RD regard the asymmetries between this construction and LD. Cecchetto (1999) shows four asymmetries that can only be explained by postulating different structural positions for the dislocated elements: (a) CLLD would target a left-peripheral position in the CP-layer; (b) RD would target a position in the low periphery of the clause between the IP and the vP (the so-called *middle field* (Cruschina 2022)).

1. *Antireconstruction effects*: CLLD (35a) shows adjunct-arguments asymmetries for reconstruction, while CLRD (36) does not:

- (35) a. L'annuncio che [un politico]_i dà alla stampa, *pro*_i lo smentisce sempre
dopo poche ore

The announcement that a politician gives to the press (he) it denies
always after few hours

"A few hours after he has given it to the press, a politician always denies
his own statement"

- b. *L'annuncio che [un politico]_i viene arrestato, *pro*_i lo smentisce
sempre dopo poche ore

The announcement that a politician is being arrested, (he) it denies
always after few hours

- (36) * *pro*_i lo smentisce sempre dopo poche ore, l'annuncio che [un politico]_i
dà alla stampa

(he) it denies after few hours the announcement that a politician gives to the press

This is accounted for by postulating that adjuncts (i.e. *che un politico dà alla stampa* in (35a)) are inserted later in the derivation, after dislocation has taken place. This means that the copy trace does not contain the adjunct, and therefore no reconstruction takes place. As a result, the *pro* in IP does not c-command *un politico*. Instead, arguments (35b) do not behave like this, and in fact the *pro* c-commands the coindexed DP after reconstruction. The adjunct-RD phrase in (36) shows the same properties of the argument-CLLD sentence, disallowing the coindexed reading.¹³ This means that *un politico* is never higher than the *pro*, otherwise it could be inserted later, parallel to (35a). Therefore the position of RD-phrase must be IP internal, in this way the *pro* always c-commands the DP, giving rise to a Principle C violation.

2. *Empty Category Principle effects*: according to the definition of Rizzi (1990) an empty category (such as a trace) must be properly governed, and this implies first of all head-government, i.e. "government by a head within its immediate projection" (Rizzi 1990: 74). The opposition between (37a) and (37b) can be explained, according to Cecchetto, in terms of different head-government of the subject trace:

- (37) a. ?* Un uomo che_i , a Gianni t_i potrebbe parlargli così (verrà domani)
A man who to Gianni can to him speak this way (will come tomorrow)
- b. ?Un uomo che_i t_i potrebbe parlargli così, a Gianni, (verrà domani)
A man who can to him speak this way to Gianni (will come tomorrow)
"A man who could talk to Jean this way will come tomorrow"

¹³ Samek-Lodovici (2015) however does not agree with the grammaticality judgment of Cecchetto for (36); nonetheless, he points out that the sentence is not pragmatically plausible "because the singular definite object l'annuncio 'the announcement' appears to suggest that politicians make just one press announcement during their careers." (Samek-Lodovici 2015:137)

Building on Rizzi (1990 1997) Cecchetto shows that in CLLD sentence (37a) the ungrammaticality is explained because of the Top° blocking the government of the subject trace in IP from C°. In CLRD (37b) however this effect seems to be absent, proving a different position for the dislocated element.

3. *Right Roof Constraint*: since Kayne (1994) it is well known that rightward movement is upward-bounded. This means that while CLLD (38a) shows the possibility of dislocating a phrase beyond the sentence where it is originated, this is not true for CLRD (38b):

- (38) a. La macchina, mi sembra strano che gliela presti
 the car (it) to me sounds weird that (he) to her it lends
 b. * Che gliela presti, mi sembra strano, la macchina
 That (he) to her it lends to me sounds weird the car
 "For him to lend his car to him/her would surprise me"

According however to Samek-Lodovici (2015) the sentence in (38b) is to be excluded from derivation for independent reasons than RRC: it is an extraction from a tensed complement and is an extraction from a CLLD (*che gli presti la macchina, mi sembra strano*), which are two operations that lead to ungrammaticality (for both see §1.3.1).

4. *AUX-TO-COMP constructions*: if CLLD and CLRD had the same structures we would expect ungrammaticality for the AUX-TO-COMP constructions in (39):

- (39) a. * Avendolo, il film, Gianni visto
 Having it the movie Gianni seen
 b. Avendolo Gianni visto, il film
 Having it Gianni seen the movie

Note that the ungrammaticality in (39a) is accounted by a RM effect, due to the presence of Top° intervening between the AUX in CP and its trace in VP. Since this does not happen in (39b), it can be inferred that *il film* is not in the C-layer.

1.3.2.2 A clause internal analysis (Cecchetto 1999 2000)

In order to explain the above asymmetries, and to resolve the problems within a clause external analyses (see § 1.2.4.2), Cecchetto (1999) proposes an analysis of RD where the target position for the dislocated element is a TopP below IP. In this way there is no need of remnant movement anymore:

(40) $[_{IP} \textit{pro} \textit{l'ho} [_{AspP} \textit{presa}_v [_{FocP} \textit{io} \textit{Foc}^\circ [_{TopP} \textit{la macchina}_i \textit{Top}^\circ [_{AgrOP} \textit{t}_i \textit{t}_v [_{VP} \textit{t}_{io} \textit{t}_v \textit{t}_i]]]]]]]]]$

The main steps of the derivation are: (a) the BigDP generated in A-position; (b) the movement of the DP to Spec,TopP below IP; (c) the movement of the BigDP as a whole, out of VP, carrying the trace of the moved DP; (d) the movement of the clitic (as a head) to left adjoin the verb. Passage (c) ensures the right LF reconstruction of the DP below IP, but higher than VP, passage (d) is only phonological and therefore not visible at LF (Cecchetto 2000).

This analysis, according to Cecchetto, explains easily the asymmetries above:

1. *Antireconstruction effects*: in a clause external analysis the *pro* in (35) would not be able to c-command the R-expression below, in a clause internal instead this is predicted, giving rise to a Principle C violation;
2. *ECP effects*: the RD-phrase in (36b) is lower than the TopP in the Left periphery;
3. *RRC*: (37b) would violate the Proper Binding Condition (see below), in having a non-governed trace in the highest phrase *che gliela presti t*;
4. *AUX-TO-COMP*: is actually not crucial for this analysis.

Most importantly, Cecchetto's (1999 2000) analysis explains the Proper Binding Condition that was problematic for clause external accounts (in particular Cardinaletti (2002)): the VP-internal traces of the dislocated objects are always properly governed. Compare the two simplified structures, one clause external (41a) the other clause internal (41b):

(41) a. $[[[_{IP} \textit{io} \textit{l'ho} \textit{visto} \textit{t}_i]_j [_{TopP} \textit{Gianni}_i \textit{Top}^\circ \textit{t}_j]]]$
 b. $[_{IP} \textit{io} \textit{l'ho} [_{AspP} \textit{visto} [_{Top} \textit{Gianni}_i \textit{Top}^\circ [_{VP} \textit{t}_{visto} \textit{t}_i]]]]]]$

1.3.2.3 Problems of clause internal analysis

Samek-Lodovici (2015) provides empirical evidence in support of the TP-external position of RD-phrases.

1. *Clitic doubling*: Italian does not allow clitic doubling inside the clause, no matter the informational status of the doubled element.
2. *Relative order of marginalized and RD-phrases*: given that marginalized elements are *in-situ*, clause internal analyses predict marginalized phrases to be always on the right of RD-phrases. This prediction is not borne out, since:

(42) *Context*: Non hai regalato nessun libro a Marco

a. No. Non gli ho PRESTATO [nessun libro]_M, [a Marco]_{RD}

b. *No. Non gli ho PRESTATO, [a Marco]_{RD}, [nessun libro]_M

3. *Licensing n-words and NPIs*: in Italian n-words and NPIs must be licensed by a c-commander at surface structure (Samek-Lodovici 2015). In a clause internal analysis (43b) should be grammatical, because at s-structure the negation would properly c-command the NPI. On the contrary in a clause external analysis this result is predicted given that the negation is no longer c-commanding into the RD-phrase:

(43) a. Non abbiamo visto ALCUNCHÈ / NESSUNO

(we) not have seen anything/anybody

"We haven't seen anything/anybody"

b. *Non (lo) abbiamo VISTO, alcunché / nessuno

(we) not (it) have seen, anything / anybody

4. *Binding phenomena*: Samek-Lodovici (2015) argues against Cecchetto (2000) that RD-phrases reconstruct into their base position, and shows the external position of RD-phrases within the adjunct vs. argument asymmetry. Given that in (44b) a violation appears it can only be that the complement is generated within TP and reconstructs in its base position, while adjuncts (44a) are generated after the dislocation has taken already place (therefore no

reconstruction is possible). In a clause internal analysis, no asymmetry is predicted, the *pro* would c-command the low DP no matter its argument vs. adjunct nature¹⁴:

- (44) a. [*pro_j* non le rivela *t_i* certo ai gionali], [le prove_{*t_i*} che il procuratore_{*j*} trova in un'inchiesta]_{RD}
 (he) not them reveals certainly to-the newspapers, the evidence that the public-prosecutor finds during an investigation
 "Public prosecutor certainly does not reveal to the newspapers the evidence that he collects during an investigation"
- b. * [*pro_j* non le rivela *t_i* certo ai giornali], [le prove che il procuratore_{*j*} viola la legge]_{i RD} (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 102)
 (he) not them reveals certainly to-the newspapers, the evidence that the public-prosecutor-chief breaks the law
 "Public prosecutor certainly does not reveal to the newspapers the evidence that he breaks the law"

5. *RRC violations*: clause internal analysis does not give account for RRC violations such as (45). Without going in much details, in a clause internal derivation à la Cecchetto (1999) it is very complex to derive final order, while in a clause external one it is much easier.¹⁵

- (45) Gli ho detto di andare a Roma per vedere il DIRETTORE, a Gianni
 to-him have said to go to Rome to see the director, to John
 "I told John to go to Rome to see the director"

Regarding Proper Binding Condition, Samek-Lodovici (2015) shows that the problem of having an unbound trace still holds in a clause internal analysis when tested with multi right dislocated phrases:

- (46) Non **ne** siamo SICURI *t_j*, [_{Top1} di riuscire a trovar-**lo** *t_i*]_{*j*}, [_{Top2} quando torneremo],
 [_{Top3} un idraulico]_{*i*}.

14 Note that in a base-generated analysis these asymmetries would be impossible to detect. In fact, given its base generation nature, there is trace of the RD-phrase in IP to reconstruct.

15 For more details see Samek-Lodovici (2015: 108-9) and Sanchez (2017: 63-64)

(We) not of-it are sure, of to-be-able to to-find-it, when (we) will-return, a plumber

"We are not SURE that we will be able to find a plumber, when we come back.

In the example (46) both the trace of *un idraulico* (inside Top1) and the trace of the CP *di riuscire a trovarlo* (in FocP) are not properly bound. In conclusion Proper Binding seems not to be crucial in distinguishing different analysis:

the order of the dislocated constituents in the example guarantees a failure of proper binding under any conceivable anti-symmetric representation, independently of the clause-external or clause-internal position assigned to right dislocation. Proper binding of phrasal traces does not distinguish between these competing representations, both of which must assume that proper binding is satisfied at the time of extraction. (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 139-140)

1.3.3 Clause external analysis

Given the proofs of the external-IP nature of RD-phrases (§ 1.3.2.3) and the main movement evidence (§ 1.3.1), Samek-Lodovici (2015) proposes a movement analysis of RD based on the BigDP analysis and the following structure:

(47) [[XP [RP [IP]]]]

Leaving apart the BigDP part of the derivation, which is similar to Cecchetto (1999) and it is necessary only with CLRD, the derivation of RD goes as follows: (a) RD-phrase moves to Spec,RP; (b) the whole IP moves to Spec,XP.

The traces of the moved element remain inside IP, accounting for binding relations (§ 1.3.2.3), and accepting the violation of Proper Binding Condition mentioned above. The structure for clitic doubled RD (48a) and for clitic-less (48b):

(48) a. [XP [TP Maria lo_k ha [BigDP t_k t_i]_n visto t_n]_j [RP Gianni_i t_j]]
b. [XP [TP Maria ha visto t_i]_j [RP Gianni_i t_j]]

1.3.4 Problems for movement analyses

The problems for a movement analysis are both empirical and theoretical. An interesting note about the former case is RRC in Romance. As we mentioned while leftward movement is unbounded in Romance languages, rightward is (see §1.3.2.1); however, if RD is derived with a first movement to the Left Periphery nothing should ban a long extraction of the same material. Samek-Lodovici (2015) shows that some kind of long extraction is actually possible with direct objects, but Sanchez (2017) notes that the dislocation of PPs is never accepted. (49) is the translation of a Sanchez (2017)'s sentence where the PP is extracted from an embedded clause and the focalized subject intervenes as part of a first roof (49b). This is problematic because if RD implies leftward movement nothing could prevent the ungrammaticality of (49b), being left movement unbounded. However, (49c) shows that the extraction from a non-finite boundary seems to work better, this means that the tensed vs untensed nature of the phrase from which extraction takes place actually matters probably more than the number of roofs to surpass:

- (49) a. Ci ha promesso [che andiamo *in spiaggia*] PEDRO
To-us has promised that go at the beach Pedro
"Pedro promised us to go to the beach"
- b. *Ci ha promesso [che (ci) andiamo *t*] PEDRO, *in spiaggia*
To-us has promised that (there) go Pedro at the beach
- c. ??Ci ha promesso [di andar(ci) *t*] PEDRO, *in spiaggia*
To-us has promised of going-there Pedro at the beach

Regarding more theoretical issues, a first problematic point is the motivation for the IP remnant movement. Various accounts are given: Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) for instance propose that IP movement triggers GroundP, however this is problematic because the IP would contain both Narrow and Wide Focus, and GroundP is a position for unfocused material (Sanchez 2017); Samek-Lodovici (2015) and Giorgi (2015) both points for a motivation at the syntax-prosody interface. No clear explanation has been proposed yet. However, according to Sanchez (2017), this is due to an epistemological issue: "the most serious problem with postulating remnant

movement is that its effects are undetectable, modulo the rightward movement effect it creates, and therefore stands as an unfalsifiable proposal." (Sanchez 2017:41)

A final theoretical problem in a movement account of RD is defining the nature of this movement operation. Given that both Focus movement and wh-movement (classic A'-movement) present very different properties from RD and CLLD (e.g. lack of clitics, non recursivity, WCO and PGs), Cruschina (2022) proposes to "acknowledge and accept the existence of more types of A'-movements" (Cruschina 2022), based on the different weight given by the actors in the play: (a) the foot of the chain, (b) the moved element, (c) the landing site. This approach is opposed to the Cartographic one, which postulate an attraction between an element endowed with a feature and a structural position with the same feature, and therefore highlights only the properties of the element (e.g. being a Topic, being a wh-).

1.4 Biclausal analysis

1.4.1 Ott (2017)

A different kind of approach to the analysis of dislocation is proposed by Ott (2017), and it is based on Question driven discourse and biclausal structures. This proposal is similar to some extent to that in Giorgi (2015), but it takes more distance from the classic syntactical accounts.

According to Ott (2017) traditional approaches to the analysis of dislocation structures yield inconclusive results, due to the well-known ambiguous behavior of dislocated elements: on the one hand dislocated phrases behave like extra-clausal elements (paired with syntactically complete sentences; prosodically separated), on the other they show connectivity-locality effects (agreement; island constraints). The solution to this conflict is proposed in terms biclausal structures: dislocated elements are "elliptical sentence fragments" (Ott 2017).

The model which is assumed is the Question Driven Discourse analysis. This postulates the existence in the mind of the speaker of certain Questions Under Discourse (QUD), that the speaker answers to disambiguate certain elements of his discourse in

order to guarantee an accommodation of the common ground in the conversation. The answer to this QUDs are the dislocated phrases, these are generated as biclausal structures (two juxtaposed complete sentences), and the final constructions arise after ellipsis of redundant material. In particular, Ott (2017) describes two types of RD constructions and therefore two types of connected QUDs:

- (a) Afterthought (Focal interpretation): answers a QUD about the RD-phrase
- (b) Background: answers preemptively to a QUD about RD-phrase

The main interest of this study is in the (b) construction, which is the typical RD that we find in Italian. As an example, see the full derivation under this approach:

(50) L' ho visto ieri, Gianni
 Him have seen yesterday Gianni
 "I saw him yesterday, Gianni"

Q1: Cosa è successo?

"What happened?"

A1: [CP1 L'ho visto ieri]

"I saw him yesterday"

A2: Chi hai visto ieri? > QUD about *lo*

"Who did you see yesterday?"

Q2: [CP2 ~~Ieri ho visto~~ [RD Gianni]] > ellipsis

"Yesterday I saw Gianni"

Note that the only thing that matters in this approach is the pattern of questions and answers, and their relevance to the discourse. The only really theoretical constraint regards the congruence of the question - answers, which is connected to short-answer. Briefly, an answer is congruent to QUD only if the denotation of the answer is in a subset relation with the denotation of the question.¹⁶ When this is the case ellipsis can operate on the redundant material of the answer, delivering a so-called short answer, see (51); dislocated structures are derived in the same way but by means of a implicit QUD and within a parallel double structure

¹⁶ Note that this so is because the semantic of questions supposes a set of possible congruent answers. A properly congruent answer must be one belonging in this set.

- (51) Q: Who did Mary kiss? = {Mary kissed Peter, Mary kissed John, . . . }
 A: ~~She~~ kissed PETER_F . = {Mary kissed Peter, Mary kissed John, . . . }
 A': #~~She~~ likes PETER_F . = {Mary likes Peter, Mary likes John, . . . }

The main advantage of this approach is that it accounts for locality-connectivity effects very straightforwardly: given that the two clauses are complete sentences (full CPs) the sentences show case and theta connectivity, but this is only apparent and not derived through a syntactic mechanism. Non-movement properties (lack of PGs and WCO) again come naturally from the fact that the two parallel clauses are complete CPs. Ott also shows that island sensitivity is easily derived in terms of Question/Answers incongruence (see Ott (2017) §3.5) namely a pragmatic constraint.

Finally, note that this account correctly predicts the relative order of Marginalized and right dislocated phrases. Given that marginalized constituent are *in-situ*, (52) is the only possible way of deriving the example (42). The ungrammatical order of (42b) is strictly ruled out by the fact that RD-phrase must be in the CP2 in order for the question-answer pattern to be congruent:

- (52) [_{CP1} non gli ho prestato nessun libro] [_{CP2} ~~non ho prestato nessun libro~~ a Marco]

1.4.2 Problems for Ott's biclausal analysis

Despite the clarity of Ott's account, Den Dikken and Súranyi (2017) note that, based Dutch and Hungarian data, it does not make right predictions with LD and contrastive contexts, but it works better for RD. Cruschina (2022) discusses the main problems for Ott (2017), for both LD and for RD. Here, we will focus mainly on RD. However, it is essential to note that, since Ott's analysis employs a similar operation for both LD and RD, Cruschina's objections introduce significant theoretical uncertainties also for LD derivation under this account, such as the directionality of ellipsis in LD versus fragment answers.

The main problems regarding Ott's analysis for RD are:

1. *Ellipsis of focal material*: according to the Focus Condition on Ellipsis (Merchant 2001) it is not possible to have ellipsis of new material, but only on a

given one. So in the case of narrow focus it should be impossible to apply ellipsis:

(53) [CP1 I' ho visto IERI] [CP2 ~~ho visto IERI~~ Gianni]
 him have seen yesterday have seen yesterday Gianni

2. *Cliticless RD*: the main constraint for ellipsis is that the two CPs are completely equivalent in the denotation. However, in a structure like (54), the lack of a RE in CP1 is problematic because (a) CP1 is no more complete and ungrammatical by itself, (b) the two clauses are no more equal in the denotation:

(54) [CP1 ho visto IERI] [CP2 ho visto IERI Gianni]
 have seen yesterday have seen yesterday Gianni

The only way of dealing with this problem would be to postulate a null clitic in CP1, but this is against evidences we already discuss (see § 1.2.3.2). Note that this evidence against optionality is not a problem if we accept Cardinalett's (2002) analysis of cliticless RD as Marginalization, in that it does not involve dislocation.

3. *Theoretical issue on fragment answers*: Ott (2017) uses fragment answer as a similar operation to that active in RD. However, Cruschina (2022) points out that, while in the former the elided material can be spelled out, in the latter is strictly not possible, and therefore this material it is only postulated:

(55) a. Cosa hai comprato?
 "What did you buy?"
 b. [~~ho comprato~~ una maglietta]
 I ~~bought~~ a shirt
 b'. Ho comprato una maglietta
 I bought a shirt
 (55) a. *L'ho visto IERI, ho visto IERI Gianni
 I saw him yesterday, I saw yesterday Gianni

Finally, looking at the properties showed by Samek-Lodovici (2015) in §1.3.2.3 is easy to find other proofs against Ott (2017). Briefly:

1. *Licensing of n-words and NPIs*: given that the two CPs must be complete in order for ellipsis to apply, there is no way to rule out the sentence (43b), because the NPI would not be properly licensed in CP2:

(56) [CP1 non lo abbiamo visto] [CP2 ~~non abbiamo visto~~ nessuno]

2. *RRC violations*: assuming the Focus Condition on Ellipsis, the derivation of (45) would be ruled out:

(57) [CP1 ha promesso di aiutarli MARCO][CP2 ~~ha promesso di aiutare~~
MARCO i ragazzi]

3. *Binding phenomena*: again, due to the fact that the two CPs must be complete, it's not possible to explain adjunct vs. argument asymmetries as in (44a-b), because similarly to clause internal analysis the *pro* in CP2 would always c-command the R-expression:

(58) a. [CP1 *pro*_i non le rivela certo ai giornali][CP2 ~~*pro*_i non rivela certo ai giornali~~ le prove che il procuratore_i trova in un'inchista]

b. [CP1 *pro*_i non le rivela certo ai giornali] [~~*pro*_i non rivela certo ai giornali~~ le prove che il procuratore_i viola la legge]

1.5 Concluding remarks

Table 3: A sum of the analyses discussed

	<i>RD-phrase</i> [+clitic]	<i>IP position</i>	<i>Clitic connectivity</i>	<i>RD-phrase</i> [-clitic]
<i>Kayne (1994)</i>	in-situ + covert movement at LF	in-situ	Clitic Doubling structure	
<i>Frascarelli & Hinterhölzen (2007)</i>	base-generated in FamTopP in the LP	moves to GroundP in the LP	Binding Chains	moves from A-position to FamTopP
<i>Giorgi (2015)</i>	base-generated in DisP (clause-external)	higher copy and ellipsis (parentheticals)	clitic in A-position	same structure
<i>Cardinaletti (2002)</i>	base-generated in compl. position of XP	base-generated in Spec,XP	morpho-syntactic movement + PF movement	destressed constituent in-situ
<i>Cardinaletti (2002) (double topicaliz.)</i>	moves from A-position to TopP (in the LP)	moves to higher TopP (in LP)	morpho-syntactic movement + PF movement	destressed constituent in-situ
<i>Cecchetto (1999)</i>	moves from A-position to a low TopP below the IP	in-situ	BigDP analysis	
<i>Samek-Lodovici (2015)</i>	moves from A-position to RP (in the LP)	moves to a higher XP	BigDP analysis	same structure without BigDP
<i>Ott (2017)</i>	in-situ in CP2	in CP1 (elliptical)	biclausal parallel structure	

Table 3 summarizes the main syntactic accounts of the analyses above. In conclusion there is no agreement on the derivation of RD. Among more modern analyses one hand there is a tendency towards a movement account (Samek-Lodovici 2015, Cruschina 2022) against the base-generation line of more classical analysis (Kayne 1994, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007); on the other, biclausal accounts open a very interesting perspective on the role of prosody and on the similarity with other constructions (short

answers, parentheticals), but fall short of explaining more syntactic facts. Overall, it seems to me that movement clause-external analysis tends to explain better facts regarding complex sentences, in opposition with movement clause-internal particularly in binding related contexts (see § 1.3.2.3).

Table 4 summarizes the most important properties that are explained by the different families of analysis. The value *NR* stands for 'non relevant (for that analysis)', and it is given when a certain type of analysis does not deal with a property or does not admit its premises. For example, Proper Binding Condition does not apply to Base-generation analyses because they don't presuppose the existence of a trace in the IP, and this is similar to what happens with Asymmetries in adjuncts vs. arguments reconstruction. Parasitic Gaps and WCO Effect are not taken into consideration given that they don't seem to be crucial in determining the movement vs. base-generation status of a phrase (see §1.2.4.1).

Table 4: A summary of properties explained by different families of analysis

	<i>Base-generation</i>		<i>Movement</i>		<i>Biclausal</i>
	<i>Cl-internal</i>	<i>Cl-external</i>	<i>Cl-internal</i>	<i>Cl-external</i>	
<i>Strong island sensitivity</i>	no	no	✓	✓	✓
<i>Reconstruction effect</i>	no	no	✓	✓	✓
<i>Connectivity - locality</i>	no	partially	✓	✓	✓
<i>Proper binding condition</i>	NR	NR	✓	no	NR
<i>RRC violations</i>	✓	✓	no	✓	no
<i>RD - Marginalization order</i>	no	✓	no	✓	✓
<i>Clitic 'optionality'</i>	no	✓	✓	✓	no
<i>Asymmetry in adjunct/arguments reconstruction</i>	NR	NR	no	✓	no
<i>N-words and NPIs licensing</i>	no	✓	no	✓	no
<i>Wh- extraction</i>	no	no	no	✓	NR

Since in syntax a paradox, probably the Cinque's Paradox (Cruschina 2022), is almost reached between the two possible solutions, scholars (Giorgi 2015, Ott 2017) shows that it is important to look for more empirical evidence in other components of the linguistic competence. In the next chapters we will present an introduction from the point of view of the syntax-prosody interface of RD and an empirical study about the prosodic and intonational properties of this construction.

2 The Prosody-Syntax interface of Italian RD

2.1 General prosodic properties of Italian RD

Among the literature regarding the prosody of Italian RD, there is general agreement in defining at least two main superficial prosodic properties for this construction:

- (a) a mandatory prosodic break between the RD-phrase and the main clause;
- (b) the absence of prosodic prominence on the RD-phrase, causing its apparent deaccented nature (at least in monoclausal RD) (Cecchetto 1999, Crocco 2013, Bocci 2013, Samek-Lodovici 2015).

The mandatory nature of the prosodic break appears to be crucial for RD in opposition to other dislocation constructions, such as CLLD where this break is instead optional (Cecchetto 1999). In example (1a) the prosodic break is signaled by the comma; it must be noticed that, even if in normal speech the break is almost inaudible, it would be rather ungrammatical to pronounce sentence (1b) like a normal declarative sentence:

- (1) a. L' ho già portato fuori, il cane
It have already taken out the dog
"I have already taken the dog out"
- b. ?*L' ho già portato fuori il cane

However, in languages that allow Clitic Doubling (CD), such as Spanish, the prosodic break between a right-hand constituent and the main clause is crucial to discern between a clitic resumed constituent (CLRD) and a clitic doubled one (Cardinaletti 2002, Crocco 2013). Interestingly Crocco (2013) has shown that in certain RD constructions that tend to become fixed formulas, such as polar questions (e.g. "*Lo sai che ...*"), the prosodic break is significantly shorter: this fact led Crocco to speak of "prosodic grammaticalization" for such constructions. Most importantly, Crocco's study shows that the level of grammaticalization of CLRD structures depends on the modality of the utterance: CLRD-polar question are more grammaticalized than declaratives-CLRD.

In this regards the presence of a prosodic break is one of the most consistent pieces of evidences to analyze the RD-phrase as an independent prosodic constituent (i.e. a

separate int-Phrase). As it will be shown, this fact has important repercussions on the prosodic representation of RD constructions and it can receive different interpretation by distinct analyses (Frascarelli 2000, Bocci & Avesani 2008, Bocci 2013, Samek-Lodovici 2015)

The other important intonational property of RD is that the dislocated phrase never receives prosodic prominence, in opposition to default Italian accentuation for declarative sentences that presupposes the prominence to be on the right-most element (Bocci 2013, Samek-Lodovici 2015). This phenomenon has to do with the Topic nature of RD-phrases and their relation with the Focus of the utterance. As mentioned in chapter 1 an important feature of RD Topics is their [+given] informational status, and, as such, they characterize as part of the Background, in opposition to new information carried by foci. In a prototypical RD construction the dislocated phrase is always on the right of the main Focus of the sentence; the latter is assigned the main prosodic prominence, hence leaving the RD-phrase in the postfocal domain. Interestingly, in the case of both Broad Focus (2b) and Corrective Focus (2a), the RD-Topic is always outside of the main prominence domain. As a consequence, the RD-Topic appears as low-pitched and deaccented:

- (2)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|-----|---------|--------|---------|
| | | | | | x | |
| a. | L' | ho | già | portato | fuori, | il cane |
| | | | | | x | |
| b. | L' | ho | già | PORTATO | fuori, | il cane |

For now, property (b), namely being non-prominent, is just a very superficial definition, but it must be noticed right away that it should not imply that RD-phrase undergoes a deaccenting process in Italian. In fact, Bocci (2013) has shown that, while in monoclausal examples of RD (like (2)) the dislocated phrase is always flat and low-pitched, in biclausal context and, more crucially, when RD-phrase is in prefocal position (3), the dislocated phrase is indeed accented as any other normal constituent:

- H+L*
- (3) La dobbiamo avvisare, Marianna, quando arriva PIERANGELO
 her we.must inform Marianna when arrives PIERANGELO

"We must inform Mariangela when PIERANGELO arrives" (Bocci 2013: 152)

Bocci (2013) concludes in these regards that RD-phrases are always stressed, and that in the case of postfocal RD, the Pitch Accent (PA) L* is assigned. This fact opens an important question about whether the intonational status of the RD-phrases must be taken as a construction specific property, or it must be considered in relation to other prosodic element, such as Focus. In the latter case prosody is assumed not to be sensitive to RD *per se*, but relatively to the whole sentence structure in which is inserted.

This chapter will discuss some of the principle prosodic analyses for Italian RD present in the literature, with a particular focus on those that are more relevant for the syntactic accounts discussed in Chapter 1. The chapter is organized as follows: § 2.2 presents the main theoretical issues which are preliminary to the discussion about the prosodic analyses of RD; §2.3 is about analyses that assume a one-to-one relation between Syntax, Prosody and IS, hence giving particular relevance to the association between specific PAs and RD-phrases; §2.4 instead, zooms on two accounts that, in different ways, highlight the importance of Focus for RD, Bocci (2008 2013) and Samek-Lodovici (2015); §2.5 focuses on Ott (2017)'s biclausal account of RD.

2.2 Theoretical debate and background

A preliminary problem that must be mentioned to deal with the prosodic analyses of RD is the debated status of scope-discourse properties such as Topic and Focus. To summarize a very complex matter, the key question in these regards concerns whether the nature of Topic and Focus is in principle syntactic or prosodic and therefore, in a more general way, what are the limits of the components of the language faculty, in this case syntax and prosody. It must be noticed that this is one of the most important debates at the base of the division between a syntactic cartographic approach and a minimalist one. On the one hand, the product of the cartographic approach is "an attempt to "syntacticize" as much as possible the interpretive domains, tracing back interpretive algorithms for such properties as argument structure scope, and informational structure" (Cinque and Rizzi 2008: 52). Topic and Focus are thus assumed

as features with specific heads and projections in the syntactic structure (see Rizzi 1997). In this model scope-discourse properties are directly encoded in the syntactic output, as such, they can be directly read off by the other components of language (namely PF and LF). On the other hand, some minimalist approaches struggles with implementing the notion of Focus in the derivation; the main reason lies in one of the key concept of the minimalist framework, namely the Condition of Inclusiveness (IC):

any structure formed by the computation (in particular, π and λ) is constituted of elements already present in the lexical items selected for N; no new objects are added in the course of computation apart from rearrangements of lexical properties (Chomsky 1995: 209).

Indeed, it's not obvious how Focus and discourse properties can be part of the initial numeration N, since, they are not properties of specific lexical items. As a consequence, discourse-related properties are sometimes considered as uniquely prosodic and they can receive interpretation by means of the connection between PF and LF (Bocci 2008). These facts are the reason why most of the analyses about these topics are mainly based on a cartographic approach (Frascarelli and Hinterholzl 2007, Bocci 2013, Samek-Lodovici 2015). An interesting point of view on the matter is brought forward by Giorgi (2015), who proposes the highest projections of the split CP-layer (i.e. items at the left of Focus) to be occupied by prosody-oriented heads, with no syntactic content but only a prosodic one; in this way, by limiting the syntactic domain only to Focus, and including the other discourse-scope features as functional projections with only prosodic content, the conflict between Prosody and Syntax is partially resolved.

Another very important point in discussion is the nature of relation between Syntax and Prosody, hence their interface. In a Y-model grammar it is generally assumed that the prosodic representation is informed by the syntactic structure. The question is defining the mechanism by which the information passes from one component to the other. In a cartographic model, such as the one put forward by Frascarelli and Hinterholzl (2007) and Bocci (2013), this comes naturally from the fact that Prosody can directly read the discourse-features encoded in Syntax. In general terms these features are then interpreted and transformed in prosodic properties by a set of mapping rules at the interface. A different analysis is put forward by Samek-Lodovici

(2015), who instead refers to an Optimality Theory (OT) approach: the optimal sentence structure is selected upon a set of competing structures, based on a ranked list of constraints. In this way it is assumed that discourse-linked properties (such as Focus movement and RD for instance) are not feature-driven, but arise only as the result of an interaction of constraints regarding properties of Prosody (e.g., stress) and IS properties (e.g., the Givenness nature of a constituent).

In the approaches that call for mapping rules, a problem arises about the isomorphism between Prosody and Syntax, and between Prosody and Informational Structure (IS). This is then connected to another issue, regarding the nature of Pitch Accents (PA) that are assigned by Prosody to its constituents. To simplify the problem a little, a uniformity between the three layers (Prosody, Syntax and IS) would mean that a specific PA is always assigned to a certain syntactic constituent, and always conveys the same pragmatic meaning. Different analyses propose different views on this problem. For instance, Frascarelli (2000) and Frascarelli & Hinterholzl (2007) assume a one to one relation between Prosody, Syntax and IS, in relation to their analysis of different kind of Topics: a specific Topic is always assigned a specific PA. Bocci (2008 2013) assumes instead that there is no isomorphism between different levels: the pragmatic interpretation of a certain PA is only connected to the intonational context derived from the prosodic structure and the set of mapping rules. In this way it is expected, for instance, that RD-phrases can be assigned PAs that are different from the standard low-pitched ones, as showed from example (3). It must be noticed however that, if no isomorphism is supposed between different components, it is more difficult to cast predictions on a model, because the Prosody and the IS are less informative about Syntax. For instance, in Frascarelli and Hinterholzl (2007)'s model is easier to say something like: if CLRD and CLLD share the same syntactic position they would share also the same prosodic properties.¹⁷ Instead, in the model put forward by Bocci (2013) this is more complicated, because the same syntactic position does not imply the same prosodic properties.

¹⁷ This is exactly what is expected in Giorgi (2015) by the way: CLRD and CLLD share the same SPec,DisIP position, therefore we would expect to share prosodic content such as tone boundaries and PAs (see §2.3.2).

As we already mentioned, one last issue about the prosody RD constructions concerns their relation with Focus, namely the element that is assigned the main prominence in the utterance. The necessity to include Focus in the equation is highlighted since Cecchetto (1999), where the left position of foci in RD constructions is taken as evidence in support of a higher FocP in the middle-field above VP. Similarly, Samek-Lodovici (2015) and Bocci (2013) build their accounts on the discussion about the syntactical and prosodical properties of different kind of *foci*. More specifically, given that Focus is always assigned the prosodic prominence in the utterance, these accounts consider RD's prosody as a product of general constraints governing the alignment and the distribution of the stresses in the clause. Samek-Lodovici (2015) models these constraints in an OT framework, while Bocci (2013) states a unique rule to account for prominence distribution, namely the Focus Defining Rule. It should be noted that the prosodic relation between Focus and RD is also relevant for biclausal analyses such as Ott (2017). In fact, in his model RD is a way of ensuring the proper Common Ground, answering an implicit question about the Resumptive Element in CP1 (see §1.4). This cannot be the main Focus of an utterance (which is contained in CP1), because the speaker considers this question as resolved and the information of RD as redundant. Therefore, the "deaccentuation" of RD ensures that its non-Focal nature is fully understood by the hearer, and that the IS of the utterance is unambiguous.

2.3 PA association accounts: isomorphism between Syntax, Prosody and IS

2.3.1 Frascarelli and Hinterholzl (2007), Frascarelli (2000)

As said in §1.2.3.1, Frascarelli and Hinterholzl (2007)'s main goal is to provide a typology of Topics and to define their position in terms of hierarchical projections in the sentence structure. Their claim is that clitic-resumed right-hand Topics are based generated in FamP, a position in the C-layer that encodes Familiar Topics, hence Topics already present in the discourse, and that IP-inversion derived by means of an EPP-feature attracting the IP to a Background position (GP). Non clitic-resumed Topics are instead moved from an IP-internal position to Spec,FamP.

According to their proposal, Topics are always separated prosodically from the rest of the clause, and moreover, every type of Topic in Italian (i.e. Aboutness, Contrastive and Familiar) is connected to a specific PA. Crucially, one the most important point so far is the fact that tonal events of constituents do not depend on any factor other than the constituent's discourse role. As already mentioned, this implies a one-to-one relation between a specific syntactic position, a specific tonal event and informational status. This fact is even more evident when Frascarelli and Hinterholz make a general assumption concerning the relation between specific PAs and informational status, namely that H-tone correlates with new informations and L-tone correlates with given one. The PAs-Topic association, based on empirical evidence of speech corpora, is showed in Table 1.

Table 5: Intonational contours associated to each type of topic, from Frascarelli & Hinterholz (2007)

	<i>Pitch Accent</i>
<i>Aboutness Topic</i>	L*+H
<i>Contrastive Topics</i>	H*
<i>Familiarity Topics</i>	L*

Familiar Topics, hence the one implying a higher degree of anaphoricity (Cruschina 2010), mainly associate with a L* contour. Moreover, it is observed that the IP to the left of Familiar Topics in RD constructions, always conveys some sort of focal meaning. In example (4), for instance, the second part of the sentence contains a CLRD of *il tempo* and the verb has a contrastive meaning:

- (4) Non è questione che il tempo non te l' ho dato, io te l'ho
 not be the point that the time not to-you have given I to-you it-
 DATO il tempo
 have given the time
 "The point is not that I didn't give you time. I DID give you time." (Frascarelli and Hinterholz 2007: 12)

They conclude that IP-inversion is a strategy put in place at the Syntax-IS interface, connected to Focus and contrast: "We can thus conclude that IP-inversion provides a

connection between syntactic configuration and information structure" (Frascarelli and Hinterholzl 2007: 13).

This analysis is very much built on Frascarelli (2000), which tries to merge Minimalist syntactic framework and Prosodic Phonology, and gives interesting insights about the Syntax-Prosody interface for RD-constructions.¹⁸ Without going too much into detail, the most important conclusion in Frascarelli's work is that Topics are separated intonationally because they have no checking relation with the Focus phrase. Assuming that Topics are based generated in Spec,TopP, and that Focus subsumes the Focus Criterion, hence a checking relation¹⁹, the Syntax-Prosody interface distinguishes the utterances into two separate Intonational-Phrases (intP) based on the Focus domain: one intP contains the domain of Focus (with the main prosodic prominence), while the other contains the non-Focal material (i.e. Topics). In other words, the utterance is phrased into two blocks: an informative one (focal) and a given-extraposed one (Topics). This account easily explains both the association RD-phrases with L-tones and the prosodic break that can be found between a RD-phrase and the main clause, and again, it implies an overlap between the syntactic position of a phrase and its prosodic properties and informative status.

However, it's worth mentioning an important limit of this approach that will be further discuss in §2.4.2.2. If L* is taken to be a property of Familiar Topics (hence RD-Topics), it's predicted that Familiar Topics will always be assigned L* regardless of other factors such as their position with respect to Focus. This prediction is not borne out, as example (3) shows. Bocci (2013) has indeed shown that, when the RD-phrase is prefocal, it is not assigned a low and flat pitch contour.

18 Prosodic Phonology's main assumption is that Prosody mediates between syntax and phonology. Phonological rules operate on the prosodic structure, therefore if one phonological rule applies on some constituents it is plausible that those constituents are part of the same prosodic domain (Frascarelli 2000). Frascarelli looks at phonological rules (*gorgia, raddop. fonosint.,...*) to infer the prosodic structure.

19 Focus Criterion was introduced by Rizzi in his 1997 seminal work on the Left Periphery. It requires spec-head agreement between the focal element and the main verb, which must raise in Spec,FocP, in order to check the [+F] feature.

2.3.2 Giorgi (2015)

The syntactic account of Giorgi (2015) for dislocation constructions implements the creation of prosody-oriented heads (DisP), namely heads that project in Syntax but have only prosodic content. Such heads are in the higher part of CP-layer, on the left of Focus, a section which is proposed by the author to be outside of the domain of Syntax, and therefore directly under the control of the Syntax-Prosody interface. In this way it is easier to derive the prosodic properties of CLLD and CLRD directly on the syntactic structure, and it is actually not very different from a cartographic approach where prosodic features project phrases in the X-bar structure. More importantly, this account makes explicit the prosodic and syntactic bound nature of dislocation constructions, partially resolving the conflict in the literature about the relevance of these two components in such structures.

Specifically, CLRD is derived as a CLLD plus IP-inversion, involving two DisP: a low one hosting the base-generated RD-phrase and a higher one hosting a copy of the CP (see §1.2.3.1). Here example (13) repeated from chapter 1:

- (6) [_{KP} Ci siamo stati l'anno scorso **Dis** [a Roma **Dis** [~~Ci siamo stati l'anno scorso~~]]]

These heads are read-off at the Syntax-Prosody interface, and they are assigned specific intonational properties (prosodic breaks, PAs). Although Giorgi claims that the exact prosodic content of the Dis heads for both CLLD and CLRD is yet to be defined experimentally, she argues that the presence of the higher Dis^o is made evident from "the prosody associated with these sentences, requiring a pause between the clause and the [RD-]phrase" (Giorgi 2015: 245). The prosodic content of this construction is said to be very similar to the 'comma feature', the prosodic pause involved in the derivation of parentheticals, which is also analyzed as involving prosody-oriented heads (see footnote 6 in chapter 1).

It must be said that it's not very easy to try to define the predictions for this account in terms of Prosody, because the author tends to be vague about the actual details on intonation, leaving it open to further research. The author in general claims to endorse Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007)'s analysis for intonational properties of

Topics. Two interesting points for our discussion, that are not mentioned in Giorgi (2015), are: (a) whether the Dis head involved in CLLD and the one involved in CLRD share the same prosodic content, and (b) whether a Dis head, in a specific construction, is always assigned the same properties regardless of the context in which it appears. For what concerns question (b), it is crucial what has been already said about prefocal contexts in the previous paragraph (§2.3.1). About question (a), let us assume the answer to be positive (as one could conclude from Giorgi's dissertation): then CLLD and CLRD are expected to share the same prosodic properties (i.e. tone boundaries and PAs assignment). According to Frascarelli & Hinterholzl (2007)'s study, this prediction is clearly not borne out, because CLLD and CLRD represent two different types of Topics, and therefore they are characterized by different PAs. However, it will be shown in §2.4.2. that the discussion on this specific aspect becomes more intricate when complex sentences are taken into consideration and when is accepted the possibility of a non-isomorphism between Syntax and Prosody. As Bocci and Avesani (2008) show, LD-phrases and RD-phrases can in principle share same PAs, because intonational properties are not assigned pragmatic meaning on their own, but only with respect to their position in relation to the main prominence of the utterance (i.e. Focus).

2.4 Focus-related accounts

2.4.1 Samek-Lodovici (2015)

The account proposed by Samek-Lodovici (2015) is built on three main theoretical assumptions:

- (a) the Syntax-Prosody interface is modeled inside an Optimality Theory (OT) framework. The "optimal" structure is selected from a set of freely generated linguistic structures, on the base of a ranked list of constraints. The principle on which the choice is done is based on the notion of "minimal violation": what is optimal is the structure with the least violations of high ranked constraints.

Language variation is determined by different rankings of these universal constraint;²⁰

- (b) IS-movements (i.e. Focalization, LD, RD) are interface-driven movements (not feature-driven) that are allowed when they improve stress alignment, as such they arise from the "the interaction of very simple and independently motivated constraints concerning only the position of stress and the position of discourse-given constituents" (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 238);
- (c) Contrastive Foci are assumed to be *in-situ* in Italian, with no FocusP in the C-layer.²¹ When foci do not appear to be *in-situ* it means that (1) RD of Given material is active, or, when they appear to be fronted, it implies that (2) *Focus evacuation*, hence the movement of the focal material outside a R-marked phrase before dislocation, has come into place. This mechanism works as follow: when a Focus phrase is inside a R-marked constituent, first the Focused phrase exits that R-constituent by left adjoining it; then, the dislocation of the R-material takes place. RD and Marginalization are thus operations that concern given material: in the former this material is dislocated, in the latter it remains *in-situ*.

Is worth noting that statements (b) and (c) imply that IS-movements "need not be formalized as stipulated grammatical properties of Italian" (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 238). This is indeed a strong position, that takes the distance from the more classic approach of feature-driven movement and the most common analyses of dislocation. The main advantage is that the proposal does not depend on *ad hoc* rules to account for this kind of constructions, but it is able to derive these constructions from more general rules. However, some of the constraints that the author proposes, for instance for RD, appear to be rather specific to this construction anyway.

20 This assumption is based on Samek-Lodovici's more general idea that Optimality Theory is the most suitable framework to understand the interaction between Prosody and Syntax. Moreover, OT is claimed to be almost essential in a Minimalist approach to model interface phenomena. For more detail see Samek-Lodovici's (2013) paper "Optimality Theory and the Minimalist Program"

21 Of course this is a simplification of a very complex matter which is at the core of Samek-Lodovici's (2015). The main idea is that the cartographic approach to the Left Periphery based on Rizzi (1997) is not able to predict some empirical data about both contrastive and new information Focus. The important conclusion for our discussion is that "it is simply not possible to provide an accurate analysis of the syntax of focalization without also investigating its inter-action with the syntax of discourse-given constituents" Samek-Lodovici (2015: 8)

As specified in §1.3.3, from a syntactical viewpoint, RD is accounted with a double movement mechanism: RD-phrase moves from A-position to Spec,RP in the LP; the IP moves to Spec,XP, XP being an higher projection than RP. From a prosodic perspective, simple utterances containing a RD-subject²² (7) and a RD-PP (8), always appear to be divided two intPs, with the main prominence of the utterance-phrase (uttP) landing on the focal element:

- (7) (x -)_{uttP}
 (x)_{intP} (x)_{intP}
 Berrà VINO_F, Gianni_R
 "Gianni will drink WINE"
- (8) (x -)_{uttP}
 (x)_{intP} (x)_{intP}
 Ci andiamo DOMANI_F, a Roma_R
 "TOMORROW we will go to Rome"

This analysis claims that, to account for such sentences, there is no need to assume a feature [+foc] attracting the focal elements. On the contrary, the structure arises naturally from the impossibility of assigning R-marked constituent (*Gianni, a Roma*) the main prominence, hence from a prosodic reason.

Without going too much into details, based on the notion of Givenness of Schwarzschild (1999), the author argues that discourse given constituents are M-marked; such elements are subjects to the constraint *Marginalization*, that imposes discourse-given constituents to remain *in-situ*. Moreover, some M-marked phrases are also R-marked, and those are the only constituents that undergoes the RD mechanism. As such they are subject to both general and specific constraints, namely:

- (a) *Head-of-utterance-phrase* (Hd-uttP): imposes the main stress of uttP to land on the rightmost element;

²² RDed subject clauses with focalized objects are taken into consideration because they more clearly highlight the nature of this analysis. In fact, it would be more difficult to determine the movements to a focused-object clause, since it would appear *in-situ*. However the analysis still holds for sentences like *Lo berrà GIANNI_F il vino_R*.

- (b) *Destress-RD* (DstrRD): imposes that R-marked constituents cannot be prominent elements in the uttP;
- (c) *Dislocate Given* (DislGiv): imposes R-marked constituents to move to Spec,RP;
- (d) *Right Dislocate* (RDisl): imposes R-marked constituents to be rightmost in the uttP.

For syntactic and prosodic properties, RD must be interpreted as the result of the interaction between these constraints that regulates the stress alignment in accordance with the pragmatic nature of the material. Among these constraints, *Destress-RD*, *Dislocate Given* and *Right Dislocate* are indeed the most relevant and specific for the derivation of RD, because they regulate both the syntactic properties (being right-hand) and the prosodic ones (being non-prominent in uttP). The general hierarchy for these constraints, that emerges analyzing the data, is as follows:

SF²³ >> RDisl >> DislGiv >> DstrRD >> Marg

Interesting observations derive from considering how this interaction works:

1. Not performing IP-inversion in RD constructions would mean violating RDisl.²⁴ Therefore, IP movement in Spec,XP, is not to be considered as a specific constraint regarding the Syntax of Italian RD, but arises from a more general constraint about the informational status of a constituent and the alignment of the main stress;
2. Focus Fronting, such as the sentence *VINO, Gianni berrà*, must be analyzed as a mechanism of Focus evacuation from a RDed phrase, as shown in (9a):

(9) a. (x -)_{uttP}
 (x)_{intP} (x)_{intP}
 VINO_F [Gianni berrà t_{obj,F}]_R
 wine Gianni will.drink
 "WINE John will drink"

23 *Stress Focus*: imposes the main prominence on focused phrase.

24 In sentences with RD-subject, such as (7), this would come in contrast with the fact that Hd-uttP is satisfied (*Gianni_R berrà VINO_F*). This simply means that in Italian RDisl is ranked higher than Hd-uttP.

- b. (x -)_{uttP}
 (x) (x)_{intP}
 VINO_F [TP Gianni berrà t_{obj,F}]_R
- c. (x)_{uttP}
 (x)_{intP}
 *[TP Gianni berrà VINO_F]_R

The R-marked element in these sentences is assumed to be the whole TP. Not performing RD, but only Focus movement outside of TP, would indeed lead to a similar surface structure (9b), though violating DislGiv, because the R-marked TP *Gianni berrà* would not move to Spec,RP. Similarly, the structure obtained by not performing neither RD nor Focus evacuation, (9c), would violate DislGiv, and DstrRD, because the R-marked constituent (i.e. the whole TP) would be assigned prominence in the uttP.

3. In accounting for Marginalization, it is shown that the Marg constraint is ranked lower than SF, but higher than *Head-of-intonational-phrase* (Hd-intP), a constraint imposing the head of the intP (hence the main stress of intP) to be rightmost element in the intP:

SF >> Marg >> Hd-intP

Marginalized structures such as (10) violate Hd-intP, because the main stress is not rightmost, but satisfy the higher ranked Marg and SF:

- (10) (x -)_{intP}
 Ha mangiato MARCO_F la torta_M

It is evident that the essence of RD in this account is encoded in its relation to Focus, and the result is the strong conclusion that every time Focus is concerned, also Givenness is implied, therefore RD constructions could arise. This has the consequence of enlarging the contexts in which RD is implicated, as example (9) shows. However, a few questions arise on top of these conclusions. The first one concerning the nature of the R-marking on given phrase: the OT theory framework is very strong in descriptive power, but leaves some doubts regarding the motivation for the marking. Why can some

constituents receive it, and why is M-marking not enough for encoding Givenness? It is true that Samek-Lodovici states that, while phrases generated at the left of Focus can only be right dislocated, those generated at the right can be either right dislocated or marginalized. But still, this does not seem a very crucial statement: it only imposes a structural restriction to the marking. The second issue concerns the fact that this analysis only deals with monoclausal examples, and it is not clear whether it can be applied on complex sentences, for instance those in which the RD-phrase precedes Focus (see §2.4.2.2). Intuitively, these sentences would violate RDisl, because the R-marked constituent would not be the rightmost element in up, but SF and the other high ranked constraints would be satisfied.²⁵ One last issue is that it is not entirely clear whether this account can be applied also to non-contrastive Focus, and, if it does, to what extents. The author claims that New Information Focus and Contrastive Focus in Italian share semantic and syntactic properties, and states "I believe that this convergence extends to the claims made in this book, too, but space limits prevent me from extensively testing this hypothesis" (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 9), leaving the question open to further research. However, it must be said that the debate on whether these two types of Focus are syntactically different is still open, as we will discuss below.

2.4.2 Bocci (2008 2013)

2.4.2.1 The Syntax-Prosody interface and Focus

The account proposed in Bocci (2013) is developed mainly within a cartographic framework, where discourse-related features are encoded in the syntactic structure. These features are read at the spell-out and transformed into prosodic properties by means of a set of Mapping Rules. It is important to notice that this mechanism does not necessarily imply a one-to-one relation between one feature and a certain property, in fact "the prosodic computation is fed by the syntactic representation and discourse-related features, but the prosodic component elaborates the input in accordance with its

²⁵ It's worth noting however that Bocci (2013) shows that prefocal RD-phrases could bear the same PA as Focus, see §2.4.2.2 and example (10a). It is not clear, though, whether this analysis predicts the actual F-marked constituent to be interpreted intonationally as the focus of the phrase. Intuitively, SF and Hd-uttP would allow this interpretation.

intrinsic rules, which disregard any Condition of Inclusiveness" (Bocci 2013). There are two sets of mapping rules that build the prosodic structure:

- (a) *Default mapping rules*: that are sensitive to syntactic configurations. They derive the default phrasing of the syntactic structure into prosodic structure and the default prominence schema;
- (b) *Feature sensitive mapping rules*: that are sensitive to discourse-related features (e.g. Focus) and govern PA associations. They are responsible for non-default prosodic configurations.

An example of the interaction between these two sets would be Focus, very briefly: in Italian the default prominence (set of *Default mapping rules*) is generally associated with the rightmost element in the prosodic structure; however, when Focus is involved and it is not the rightmost element, the prominence is assigned (by the set of *Feature sensitive mapping rules*) to Focus rather than the actual rightmost element.

Another important preliminary step to understand Bocci's account, concerns the discussion on Focus. As other analyses have shown in different ways, RD is highly implicated in constructions involving Focus, both syntactically and, more importantly, prosodically. One problem is that there is no *consensus* in the literature about the Syntax, the Prosody and also the Semantics of Focus. Trying to summarize a massive debate, the main questions in these regards are: (a) whether different types of Focus (Informational Narrow/Broad Focus and Contrastive Focus) project different heads in the syntactic structure; (b) whether these different foci are assigned different PA, hence whether they are distinguished in the prosodic structure of different varieties; (c) whether Focus is a uniform notion in semantics. The experiments run by Bocci and Avesani in 2005, in 2008 and by Bocci in 2013, partially answer question (a) and (b). They observed that in the Italian spoken in Siena, Informational Focus (IFoc) is systematically differentiated, in terms of PA assignment, from Contrastive Focus (CFoc). These studies led to the schema showed in Table 6.

Table 6: *Intonational contour of Focus phrases (Bocci 2013)*

	<i>Pitch Accent</i>
<i>IFoc</i>	H+L*
<i>CFoc</i>	L+H*

Interestingly, both Bocci and Avesani (2005) and Bocci (2013) show that no other prosodic properties other than PAs actually distinguish between the Focus types, at least in Siena Italian. Indeed, neither the presence of boundaries (that should imply a significant lengthening of the preceding vowels) nor the intonational contour on words preceding Focus (hence the Background) has been found to be distinctive for a Focus typology. The theoretical implication of these findings, according to Bocci (2013), is that CFoc and IFoc must necessarily be encoded by different features in the cartographic structure, in order to be read-off at the interface and assigned different PAs. Hence, the necessity of having a set of *Feature sensitive mapping rules* to assign specific PAs to different elements. However, given the "uniqueness constraint" applying on Focus, namely that only one Focus per clause is allowed, and the fact that both IFoc and CFoc triggers L* on postfocal material (see below §2.4.2.2), Bocci concludes that these two features, despite being distinct, are treated very similarly at the interface with Prosody.

2.4.2.2 The Focus Defining Rule (FDR) and RD

An important point in Bocci and Avesani (2008)'s study, regards the status of postfocal material. In this experiment different types of Foci (CFoc and IFoc) are put in relation with different dislocation constructions (RD Topics, CLLD Topics, Parentheticals). The most important finding is that there is a very solid distinction between postfocal and prefocal position in terms of intonational properties, regardless of the dislocation construction involved. In particular, both RD Topics, CLLD Topics and Parentheticals (that are phrased into independent intPs) show the association with a flat and low pitch (i.e. L*), when they occur in a postfocal position; any other PA is overwritten by L*. Compare examples combining CFoc with prefocal CLLD (10a) and with postfocal CLLD (10b), with (11a) and (11b) for RD. For both constructions, it is shown that,

when they are prefocal (11a), they are assigned a PA like any other phrase, and this fact can only be observed in complex sentences:

- (10) a. | H+L* | | L+H* |
 Marianna, la dobbiamo avvisare quando arriva PIERANGELO
 Marianna, her we.must inform when arrives PIERANGELO
 "Marianna, we must inform her when Pierangelo arrives"
- b. | L+H* | | L* | | L* |
 Quando arriva PIERANGELO, Marianna, la dobbiamo avvisare
 When arrives PIERANGELO Marianna her we.must inform
- (11) a. | H+L* | | L+H* |
 La dobbiamo avvisare, Marianna, quando arriva PIERANGELO
- b. | L* H+ | | L* | | L* |
 Quando arriva PIERANGELO la dobbiamo avvisare, Marianna

Crucially, the only thing that seems to matter for the assignment of L* is the linear position of the phrases with respect to Focus. Accounts like those of Frascarelli (2000) and Frascarelli & Hinterholz (2007) would not be able to predict these phenomena, because a specific Topic would always be assigned a specific PA.

To summarize the findings regarding Focus and dislocation, we can say: (a) Focus always is the prominence of the clause; (b) when Focus is not the rightmost element the prominence is not given to the rightmost element (differently from the default mapping rules); (c) L* is assigned to postfocal material regardless of the complexity and the informational status, hence L* is not a correlate of Givenness or RD-Topics. In order to account for these findings, Bocci (2013) states a Focus Defining Rule (FDR), here slightly simplified:

Focus Defining Rule (FDR)

The PA which defines the Focus type and from which the focus projection is computed is the rightmost PA able to express Focus, within the Focus domain.

Further assumptions:

- i. L* is included in the PA inventory of Tuscan Italian and fails to express focus.
- ii. The domain of focus in Italian is the utterance.

This rule explains the necessity of characterizing postfocal material with L*, overriding any other nuclear PA: in fact if Focus is computed from "the rightmost PA able to express Focus", in sentences like (10a) and (11a) there is no problem, because Focus is indeed the rightmost element; however, when Focus is not the rightmost element (like in sentences (10b) and (11b)), the insertion of L*, which is not a PA able to express any kind of Focus, prevents the non-Focal material to be wrongly computed as prominent, and points to the only PA compatible with Focus. L* therefore is not a correlate neither of Givenness, because given material in (10a) is not assigned L*, nor of a particular kind of Topic, like Frascarelli and Hinterholzl (2007) claim, nor, most importantly a correlate of RD *per se*. Crucially, also when CLLD-phrases are postfocal they are assigned L*. As Bocci (2013) states:

in Tuscan Italian, L* is a marker dedicated to set the right-hand side of the focus phrase by marking the material to its right as non-focal. [...] L* is not inserted in the prosodic structure as a positive correlate of any discourse-related properties. By contrast, it is a marker inserted specifically to define the focus phrase. (Bocci 2013: 146)

Interestingly, in an experiment realized in 2013, Bocci observes that postfocal material receives prosodic phrasing, similarly to any other phrase with the mechanism of default mapping rules. Indeed, (a) the presence of pre-boundary lengthening before RD-phrases, (b) the increase of articulatory effort and (c) the emphasis that emerges from the analysis distribution of the energy in the spectrum, are very solid evidence for concluding that there is head assignment in postfocal material. The result is important to affirm that in Italian there is no destressing mechanism active for postfocal material and that its low-pitched status must not be interpreted as deaccented, but instead as a specific assignment of a PA by the FDR, namely L*, which is inserted for structural reason.

All the conclusions so far strongly allow for a non-isomorphism between intonational properties and IS: the semantic value of PAs is assigned only with respect to the position of the phrases in the prosodic structure. The fact that RD-Topics can receive a potential focal PA (compare (11a) with Table 2) means that, at least in the case of CLLD and RD, PAs must be computed and analyzed by looking at the whole prosodic structure. However, if the non-isomorphism between Syntax and Prosody is generally more accepted, the one between Intonation and Pragmatics is much more problematic because it is generally assumed that PAs convey pragmatic properties. Yet, Bocci (2013) refers to Chomsky (1995) in stating that "it is not plausible to have minimalist expectations with regard to phonology and, therefore, intonation" (Bocci 2013: 186), and concluding that Inclusiveness Condition (IC) does not apply to the computation from the Numeration to PF.²⁶ Indeed, if Syntax hands out to Phonology a structure including prosodic features, given that IC does not apply in PF, the default properties connected to those features can be prevented to apply due to rules that are intrinsic to prosodic representation. This is what happens when CLLD-phrases and RD-phrases appears in a postfocal position: Syntax assigns dislocated elements a specific prosodic property (e.g. a PA), then Prosody overrides the original PA because of the structural requirements imposed by the FDR, and assigns L* to the dislocated element.

2.4.3 Crocco (2013): the role of modality

All the studies so far are concerned with declarative sentences. However, Crocco (2013) focuses on another context for RD, namely polar questions. The study shows that, differently from RD-declaratives, in RD-polar question there are two main differential factors:

1. the tendency of eliminating the prosodic break between the RD-phrase;
2. the positioning of the main prominence on the RD-phrase.

²⁶ "Let us assume that this condition holds (virtually) of the computation from N to LF ($N \rightarrow \lambda$); standard theories take it to be radically false for the computation to PF" Chomsky (1995), p. 209.

- (12) (x) ()
- a. Lo vorrei, un caffè
 it (I)would.want a coffee
 "I would like a coffee."
 (x)
- b. Lo vorresti un caffè?
 it (you)would.want a coffee
 "Would you like a coffee?"

Based on the data from Spanish, where Clitic Doubling (CD) structures follow exactly these two properties, Crocco takes these factors as indicators of a 'prosodically grammaticalized' construction. The idea is that CLRD-polar questions tend to become fixed formulas in Italian and the reduction of phonological complexity is the main signal of grammaticalization. The opposition between CD and CLRD in Spanish (where the former is less complex than the latter) is used as a baseline to compare the prosodic properties of declaratives and polar questions in Italian. Crocco claims that a high degree of (1) and (2) signifies a more grammaticalized structure, and, testing the main prominence of the utterances, she observes that most of CLRD-polar questions (84.9%) in Italian are realized with the main prominence on the RD-element, in opposition to CLRD-declaratives (only 26.3%). Hence, in Italian, the modality of the utterance is crucial in CLRD structures to define their degree of grammaticalization.

Beside this hypothesis of prosodic grammaticalization, which can be problematic, the relevant element here is the relation between discourse properties, prosodic properties and syntactic structures. CLRD is a construction that has different functions in polar questions and declaratives,

whereas the latter are used with referents that are given (i.e., active for the speaker as well as for the listener), the former encode the accessibility of the referent to the speaker together with a request for confirmation. (Crocco 2013: 47)

Meaning that in polar question CLRD is also possible with discourse-new constituents: its main function being asking the confirmation of the accessibility of the referent.

This fact points to the general principle of assigning prominence to new constituents and non-salience to given material. However, again it also shows the asymmetry between a syntactic structure and its discourse/prosodic properties. There is not a unique discourse/prosodic property (e.g. givenness and a specific PA) that correlates with only one syntactic structure. Instead, a syntactic structure can have functional diversification according to different parameters (e.g. modality), and therefore it can be assigned different discourse/prosodic properties. Again, all these facts are expected in an analysis that takes the non-isomorphism as an essential characteristic of the Syntax-Prosody-IS interface.

2.5 A biclausal account: Ott (2017)

In the account proposed by Ott (2017), RD constructions are analyzed as generated from a biclausal structure in which the CP1 is the main clause, containing a Resumptive Element (RE) like a clitic, and the CP2 is the answer to an implicit Question Under Discourse (QUD) about the RE. Ellipsis then applies to the CP2 in order to omit the redundant material (see §1.4.1). From a prosodic point of view Ott (2017) describes RD-phrases as being separated from the main clause, and "intonationally backgrounded" (i.e. deaccented with a low-flat pitch). It is worth noting that Ott distinguishes this type of RD from another type of right-hand construction that he defines "focal", namely Afterthought (AT). The discourse analysis of AT (12) is similar to RD: the AT-phrase is generated as an answer (A2) to a question about an element (φ) in the CP1. These AT-phrases are characterized by a focal intonation:

- (13) a. Jan built something beautiful: a golden igloo
 b. Q1: What happened?

A1: [_{CP1} Jan built [_{φ} something beautiful]]

Q2: What did he build?

A2: [_{CP2} ~~He built~~ [_{AT} a golden igloo]_F] (Ott 2017: 6)

According to Ott (2017), while AT answers an implicit and unresolved QUD, hence giving new information, RD answers to a QUD that is considered by the speaker to be already resolved at A1, hence giving "accommodation of a redundant clarification question" (Ott 2017). RD is a device used by the speaker to ensure the proper Common

Ground of the discourse, in the case s/he is uncertain about the reference of the RE in the CP1 on the hearer's side. The prosodic properties of these phrases are a direct result of their discourse status: AT is characterized by focal intonation, that according to the author has the main role of accommodating an unresolved QUD; RD is deaccented and backgrounded in order to make clear its association with the Common Ground.

A proof of this pragmatic mechanism is the fact that, while in AT the elliptical sentence (i.e. CP2) could be fully pronounced (14a), with the focal intonation on ϕ , in RD the CP2 could not be produced (14b):

- (14) a. Jan build something beautiful. Jan built an igloo.
 b. *Ci andiamo domani, andiamo domani a Roma
 there we.go tomorrow we.go tomorrow to Rome

For Ott (2017), this fact has a prosodic meaning: with the pronunciation of CP2 (fully deaccented), there would be no longer an IS distinction between the RD-phrase (answer to Q2) and the redundant material, because the low-flat pitch "would signal illicit anaphoric deaccenting" (Ott 2017: 8, footnote 10); with the pronunciation of full CP2 with normal intonation, this material would not be perceived as licensed by a QUD, thus completely redundant.

This account is based on the assumption that the low-flat intonation is a correlate of the background material in opposition to the Focus. As such, it suffers of shortcomings similar to those of Frascarelli & Hinterholzl (2007)'s account: analyzing RD as connected to only one intonation does not explain the complex sentences behavior pointed out by Bocci (2013). If RD-phrase is assigned a low pitch in CP2 due to its background nature (hence in opposition to Focus), there is no reason why prefocal RD would not be low pitched. Another issue of this account regards the intonational status of CP2. One of the assumptions in Ott (2017) appears to be that that ellipsis operation, a PF operation, takes place after the intonational mapping. This means that in order to have a low and deaccented RD-phrase, the input material for ellipsis must be a fully low and deaccented CP2. But, even admitting an entirely deaccented and low CP to be a grammatical sentence in Italian, the RD-phrase at A2 stage must bear a focal feature because it is an answer to Q2 (see ex. 51 in §1.4.1). Hence, it is not clear at

which point in the derivation a "backgrounded" prosody is assigned to RD-phrases. An option could be to postulate the existence of post-ellipsis rules, which would ensure RD-phrases to receive a background prosody with respect to the discourse context.²⁷ Another option would be to state that, given the syntactical necessity of the ellipsis operation, this latter takes place before prosodic properties are assigned. However, Ott (2017) is not explicit on this point leaving the exact Syntax-Prosody interface mapping open.

2.6 Conclusions

Table 7: A sum of the analyses discussed; *n.a.* stands for "not accounted".

	<i>Syntax-Prosody interface model</i>	<i>RD prosodic break</i>	<i>RD intonation</i>	<i>RD in complex sentences</i>	<i>Marginalization</i>
<i>Frascarelli & Hinterholz (2007)</i>	PA association	independent intP (intP boundary)	Familiarity Topics: L*	<i>n.a.</i>	same as RD
<i>Giorgi (2015)</i>	prosody oriented heads	lowest Dis ^o	Familiarity Topics: L*	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>
<i>Samek-Lodovici (2015)</i>	Optimality Theory	independent intP	<i>DstrRD</i> constraint (non prominent in uttP)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>Marg</i> constraint
<i>Bocci (2013)</i>	Cartography (feature driven)	independent intP	when postfocal: L*	when prefocal: H+L*	<i>n.a.</i>
<i>Ott (2017)</i>	no clear model	biclausal structure	backgrounded (low and deaccented)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>n.a.</i>

Table 7 summarizes the main accounts of RD constructions discussed in this chapter. In general, there seems to be agreement on the fundamental prosodic properties of RD, and most of the analyses, despite their different frameworks, effectively account for a range of phenomena. Nevertheless, the most crucial issue revolves around the explanation of

²⁷ Note that this option could in principle account also for the intonation properties of RD-phrases in complex sentences, if it is not assumed however that background material must be endowed with only one intonational property. In fact some kind of post-ellipsis rules could explain why RD-phrases show different intonation in respect to contexts.

more complex sentences, where RD-phrases are not the rightmost element. It is clear that analyses like those of Frascarelli & Hinterholzl (2007), which considers the prosody of RD to be the result of a local mechanism of PA assignment, fall shortly to account for the prosodic properties of RD in more complex sentences. This same problem is connected to the imposition of an isomorphism between a syntactic construction and a prosodic intonation (like in Giorgi 2015 and Ott 2017). As already pointed out, it is not possible to assume RD phrases to have only one prosodic property associated to them.

The most successful analyses in terms of explanatory and predictive power seems to be those that consider RD as a highly Focus-related construction, namely Samek-Lodovici (2015) and Bocci (2008 2013). The former is more concerned with the status of contrastive focalization, the latter with status of postfocal material. It is worth asking if the two analyses, despite different in the theoretical models (OT vs cartography), are compatible in the results. In other words, are they claiming basically the same things, but modeling it in different ways? As a preliminary note, two syntactic differences in these analyses should be mentioned: (a) Samek-Lodovici argues that CFoc is *in-situ*; Bocci assumes a Cartographic framework in which CFoc is a feature, hence a projection in the Syntax that triggers movement; (b) Samek-Lodovici argues for a movement clause-external analysis of RD; Bocci for a movement clause-internal (like Cecchetto 1999, see §1.3.2.2).

Both analyses are claiming that a fundamental prosodic property of RD is being non-prominent in the utterance, in opposition to the focal material. However, Samek-Lodovici traces this fact back to the R-marking, hence the discourse-Giveness *status* of that material, coupled with constraints that regulate stress alignment. Conversely, Bocci points to the linear position with respect to Focus, as a more relevant feature than the pragmatic specifications (e.g. Familiar Topic, Giveness, etc.). Therefore, the difference is again mainly in the relation between Pragmatics and Intonation: Bocci is not making any connection between the low intonation and the Giveness of the construction; while Samek-Lodovici is assuming that the pragmatic feature of "being discourse-Given" is paired with a marking (R-marking) that leads to the prosodic property of being non-prominent. It is worth noting, however, that this latter analysis, molded in OT, does not

exclude in principle an account of more complex sentences, as already pointed out in §2.4.1. These differences are summarized in Table 8.

Table 8: Main differences between Samek-Lodovici (2015) and Bocci (2013)

	<i>Contrastive Foci</i>	<i>RD Syntax</i>	<i>RD Prosody</i>	<i>Motivation</i>
<i>Bocci (2013)</i>	CFoc projection	Clause internal	L*/H+L*	linear position with respect to Focus
<i>Samek-Lodovici (2015)</i>	<i>in-situ</i>	Clause external	non prominent in uttP (<i>DstrRD</i>)	Givenness + improving stress alignment

3 Italian CLRD: Syntax dig into

3.1 Introduction

As it was shown in Chapter 1, most of the syntactic analyses of Italian RD are concerned on giving a definition in terms of structural positions: which results in tests that are mainly based on c-command and binding relations. However, even if these aspects are undoubtedly crucial, they are also not very easy to explain exhaustively. In particular, the two analyses that seems to properly account for a number of data are the movement clause-external (Samek-Lodovici 2015) and the movement clause-internal one (Cecchetto 1999). However, neither of them seem to give a fully conclusive view on the problem, and many questions remain open.

In this chapter, I will follow a different path by looking at some phenomena involving RD which have not yet be taken into consideration in classical accounts, such as DOM and argument order. These will hopefully shed lights on RD. Concomitantly, I will address some of the most salient arguments provided by the clause external vs clause internal approaches, by adding new data. The aim is to take a position in favor of either one or the other.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: section 3.2 shows the Differential Object Marking of personal pronouns when they undergo RD; in section 3.3 I will discuss the relative order of arguments when they are Right Dislocated, and I will show an example of the importance of such considerations concerning the analysis of Samek-Lodovici (2015); section 3.4 is dedicated to the clause external vs clause internal debate in regards of binding relations: the two issues that are taken into consideration are Principle C violations after reconstruction (§3.4.1) and Principle B violations (§3.4.2).

3.2 RD and Differential Object Marking (DOM)

3.2.1 The data

Standard Italian shows a very systematic opposition in terms of marking between I/II and III person accusative pronouns when they are right dislocated, both in the singular

and in the plural forms. In particular, I and II person pronouns exhibit a mandatory dative *a* marker, while III person pronouns do not:

- (1) a. Mi ha visto GIANNI, a me
 me.*cl* has seen Gianni to me
 "GIANNI saw me"
- a'. *Mi ha visto GIANNI, me
 me.*cl* has seen Gianni, me.ACC
- b. Ti ha visto GIANNI, a te
 you.*cl* has seen Gianni, to you
 "GIANNI saw you"
- b'. *Ti ha visto GIANNI, te
 you.*cl* has seen Gianni, you.ACC
- c. *?L' ha visto GIANNI, a lui
 him.*cl* has seen Gianni, to him
 "GIANNI saw him"
- c'. L' ha visto GIANNI, lui
 him.*cl* has seen Gianni, him

Two things must be noticed in these regards: (A) the differential mark is also present in CLLD. As Berretta (1989) points out, in these examples the opposition is somehow less strident, but still relevant in my opinion:

- (2) a. A me, mi ha visto GIANNI
 to me, me.*cl* has seen Gianni
 "GIANNI saw me"
- a'. ?Me, mi ha visto GIANNI
 me.ACC me.*cl* has seen Gianni
- b. ?A lui, l' ha visto GIANNI
 to him, him.*cl* has seen Gianni
- b'. Lui, l' ha visto GIANNI
 him, him.*cl* has seen Gianni

Interestingly, the data show a striking asymmetry between LD and RD comparing (1a') and (2a'): while the *a*-mark is mandatory in RD (2a') and indeed its absence yields agrammaticality, in LD (1a') the absence of the mark is way more tolerated. This is parallel, with reversed roles, to what happens with III person pronouns (1c vs 2b), where the *a*-mark is not acceptable in RD. Therefore, the differential marking of the I/II person pronouns is more necessary in RD than in LD.²⁸ This fact shows an important asymmetry between the two constructions in terms of their possible syntactical derivation. In particular, it goes against the hypothesis that RD can be derived as LD plus IP-inversion, unless further machinery is involved. In fact, if RD and LD-phrases share the same structural position, the requirement of a differential mark for RD-phrases would be rather unexpected. One possible way of accounting for it could be postulating post-Syntactical rules (e.g. late insertion, silent *a* proposition) triggered by the nature of the element involved and its left/right position in the final structure.

(B) the presence of the clitic in the clause is crucial for the presence of the *a*-mark. If no clitic is involved, then regular accusative pronouns must be used:

- (3) a. *Ha visto GIANNI, a me
 has seen Gianni to me
 a'. ?Ha visto GIANNI, me
 has seen Gianni me.ACC

This last point suggests that the objects under observation are not Marginalized, because resumptive-clitics are not allowed in Marginalization (see §1.2.3.2); hence, since Marginalization is generally assumed to be *in-situ*, the obvious conclusion is to state the dislocated nature of these pronouns. Moreover, it is well known that in Italian the case assignments for personal pronouns are regulated by their structural position: regardless of the exact position where case is assigned, the presence of the *a*-marker shows that the pronoun is dislocated from its structural position (i.e. the position where it receives its

²⁸ Personally I think that the reason why LD is more permissive, is connected to the fact that the instances of dislocated pronouns without the *a*-mark (2a') are more prone to be interpreted either as Hanging Topics, hence with a longer pause (Alexiadou 2017), or with a certain degree of contrastive value, hence not like a prototypical RD-topic (Samek-Lodovici 2015).

structural case). This cannot be easily accounted for in an ellipsis analysis like the one in Ott (2017), where dislocated phrases are *in-situ*, inside a lower clause: indeed, if this were the case, the pronouns should not exhibit a differential marking.

3.2.2 Prepositional Accusative (PAcc) and a-Topics

The above data can be interpreted as part of a wider phenomenon of Italian and Romance Languages: Prepositional Accusative (PAcc), namely the marking of accusative case with a preposition, in languages where the accusative is normally not marked. Hence, PAcc is an example of Differential Object Marking (DOM). Crucially, PAcc is very typical of South Italian varieties and languages like Spanish, where the preposition-marking (very often the datival preposition) is applied on classes of NPs that are high on an Animacy/Individuation scale (4). These are easily defined as DOM languages, and such results are expected.

(4) *Animacy/Individuation hierarchy*

I/II pronoun > III pronoun > Proper N > Kinship N > Human N > Animal N > Thing N > Collective N > Abstract Noun

(Silverstein 1976)

Berretta (1989) shows that PAcc is also present in North Italian and Standard Italian, with very strict restrictions on the nature of the object and on the syntactical position. In these regards, I and II person pronouns show the highest degree of Definiteness, and the dislocated position favors the differential marking (both on the left edge of the sentence and on the right one) because it encodes a topical meaning, hence resulting in a higher markedness of the object. Similarly, III person pronouns represent the lower limit of this phenomenon, and in fact they show some kind of blurred judgment, as in example (2).

Interestingly, Berretta (1989) also discusses the type of predicate involved. She concludes that this latter is not as crucial for the Standard Italian PAcc, compared to the nature of the DP involved. However, these two elements are not completely detached. I will try to briefly sum up the dissertation in the aspects that are more relevant for the point in discussion here. In analyzing data of Italian, one could argue that among

predicates that allow for the PAcc, some of them could in principle require a *receiver* role in their thematic structure (eg: *salutare* "to greet" = hand greetings to someone), and some other, like the class of psychological verb, imply an *experiencer* role which is often displayed as dative. These cases would point to the conclusion that PAcc are only apparently instances of accusatives, and that instead, they must be interpreted as datives due to the argument structures of such verbs. However, Berretta (1989) argues that these last cases are in a *continuum* with what happens other transitive verbs, like *vedere* "to see", *aspettare* "to wait", that require the accusative case in the argument structure, and allow for PAcc with some human/definite objects. Psychological verbs and 'dative verbs', other than having a special thematic structure, are also more prone to appear with animate/definite objects, therefore they will display a higher frequency of a-marked objects, but overall, the PAcc is to be thought as a uniform phenomenon in Italian and it represents an instance of DOM. The dislocation of pronouns is one of those contexts where PAcc emerges, however the asymmetries between CLLD and CLRD remain open.

Another important piece of evidence regarding the *a*-marking in dislocation constructions comes from Language Acquisition studies. Belletti and Manetti (2019 2021), in experiments about Italian children's use of CLLD observed that most of the time (74%) children use this construction they perform it with an a-Topic (i.e the topicalized direct object is preceded by the preposition *a*), especially when the subject is a full lexical DP, like in (5):

- (5) Al re, il bambino lo pettina (G., 5;11)
 To the king the child him-Cl combs
 "The king, the child is combing him." (Belletti & Manetti 2019:163)

Crucially the *a*-mark is inserted only when the element is dislocated, not when it appears in its base position. Belletti and Manetti give an account in terms of Featural Relativized Minimality (fRM): adding a feature "affected" [+a]/[+u] improves the configuration between the raising object and the lexical subject, by realizing an Intersection configuration between the features involved, which is well accepted by children (6a); the Inclusion relation (6b) is instead not accepted as grammatical in children's grammar:

- (6) a. Al re, il bambino lo pettina
 [NP, Top, a] [NP, u] *Intersection relation*
- b. Il re, il bambino lo pettina
 *[NP, Top] [NP] *Inclusion relation*

Crucially, they discovered that the a-Topic often, but not always, correlates with the animated nature of the dislocated D. Unfortunately, there is no solid evidence for Italian acquisition of RD constructions, hence it's not easy to make wider consideration. Intuitively, if this analysis were correct, it would predict CLRD to behave similarly in the case that RD involves the high Left Periphery of the clause. However, given the similarities between children's utterances and some Romance Languages, and given the fact that the mark seems to be connected in both cases to an Animacy hierarchy, it is possible that Animacy itself plays a role in dislocation structures and more in general in the Left Periphery of Romance languages. Moreover, it is tempting to hypothesize that children have a wider spectrum of possibilities in the a-marking of Topics, at least until the Animal N of the hierarchy in (4), and then during the acquisition process this spectrum narrows down to the target grammar. Also note that in adult grammar there is no sensibility to the lexical vs null nature of the subject, while in children this is exactly what triggers the RM configuration.

3.2.4 Conclusive thoughts

In conclusion, we can say that Italian RD shows a sensitivity to the higher degrees of the Animacy/Individuation scale: I/II person pronouns are marked differently when Right Dislocated. Regardless of its nature (whether it is connected to animacy, affectedness or other features), the *a*-mark clearly reveals the moved status of dislocated constituents. This fact is confirmed by the acquisition data in Belletti and Manetti (2019 2021), which show that children often have generalized *a*-marking for (Left) dislocated objects. An important point that will need to be addressed in further researches is indeed the asymmetry between RD and LD: as a matter of fact, the differential marker seems to be somehow more mandatory in the former than in the latter. In these regards, it must be said that the relation between givenness, animacy, RD and a-marking is not entirely clear:

why a RD dislocated element, hence given, is more likely to appear with a mark of high animacy/individuation degree? Isn't this counterintuitive? Different factors could indeed play a role in the asymmetry discussed above, like the linearity and precedence effect in LD, or the restriction possibility of Hanging Topic (hence structures that does not involve movement) only on the left side of the sentence and not on the right.

3.3 RD and Argument Order

3.3.1 Quantifiers and arguments order

Both Bocci (2013) and Samek-Lodovici (2015) claim the order of dislocated constituents in RD to be free. As we will see later this assumption would in first instance be an important distinction between RD and Afterthoughts (AT). However, if we test ditransitive verbs with both dislocated arguments, we observe a preference in maintaining the base-generated order of arguments also when they are dislocated, hence the DO-IO order. In the examples below I will always present first the *in-situ* order and then the RD one, with the DO-IO and the IO-DO orders:

- (7) a. Ho prestato il libro a Giorgia *Base order*
 (I) have lent the book to Giorgia
 "I lent Giorgia the book"
- b. Gliel' ho prestato, il libro a Giorgia *RD: DO-IO*
 to-her-it (I) have lent the book to Giorgia
- c. ?Gliel' ho prestato, a Giorgia il libro *RD: IO-DO*
 to-her-it (I) have lent to Giorgia the book

This is also valid for other arguments such as locatives (8) and partitives (9), and trivalent verbs (10):

- (8) a. Abbiamo mandato i bambini a scuola
 (we) have sent the children to school
 "We sent the children to school"
- b. Ce li abbiamo mandati, i bambini a scuola

- there them (we)have sent the children to school
- c. ??Ce li abbiamo mandati, a scuola i bambini
there them (we)have sent to school the children
- (9) a. Vorrei mandare tre cartoline alla nonna
(I)would send three postcards to-the grandma
"I would like to send grandma three postcards"
- b. Gliene vorrei mandare tre, di cartoline alla nonna
to-her-of.them (I)would send three of postcards to grandma
- c. *?Gliene vorrei mandare tre, alla nonna di cartoline
to-her-of.them (I)would send three to grandma of postcards
- (10) a. Ho spostato la poltrona dal salotto alla camera
(I)have moved the armchair from-the living-room to-the bed-room
"I moved the armchair from the living room to the bedroom"
- b. Ce l'ho spostata, la poltrona dal salotto alla camera
there it-have moved the armchair from-the living-room to-the bedroom
- c. ?Ce l'ho spostata, dal salotto alla camera la poltrona
there it-have moved from-the living-room to-the bedroom the armchair

These data are further confirmed by quantifier's order, that is assumed to show less flexibility. As Poletto (2021) shows there is a preference in the IO-DO order of quantifiers (11a-b), and this is indeed preserved under RD:

- (11) a. Ho dato tutto a tutti
(I) have given everything to everybody
"I gave everything to everybody"
- b. ?? Ho dato a tutti tutto
I (have) given to everybody everything
- c. Gliel' ho dato, tutto a tutti
to-them-it (I) have given everything to everybody
- d. ??Gliel' ho dato, a tutti tutto
to-them-it (I) have given to everybody everything

In all the cases the order IO-DO yields a worsening effect, but rarely a full ungrammatical sentence. However, considering examples that concern binding between the arguments (12-13) the picture is somehow different:

- (12) a. *Ho dato il suo_i libro a Giorgia_i
 (I) have given the his/her book to Giorgia
 "I gave Giorgia her book"
- b. Ho dato a Giorgia_i il suo_i libro
 (I) have given to Giorgia the his/her book
- c. ??Gliel' ho dato, il suo_i libro a Giorgia_i
 to-her-it (I) have given the his/her book to Giorgia
- d. Gliel' ho dato, a Giorgia_i il suo libro_i
 to-her-it (I) have given to Giorgia the his/her book
- (13) a. *Ho messo al suo_i posto Gianni_i
 (I) have put to his place Gianni
 "I put Gianni in his place"
- b. Ho messo Gianni_i al suo_i posto
 (I) have put Gianni to his place
- c. ?*Ce l'ho messo, al suo_i posto Gianni_i
 there him-have put to his place Gianni
- c. Ce l'ho messo, Gianni_i al suo_i posto
 there him-have put Gianni to his place

There remains the parallelism between dislocated and non-dislocated sentences in terms of the preferential order of arguments, confirming the claim that the order of RD-phrases is not entirely free. However, in these examples the c-commander must always precede the pronominal expression resulting in the order IO-DO, otherwise it yields agrammaticality. Hence, the c-commanding relation forces the order of the arguments, and inhibits the reconstruction in base position, contrary to what happens in non-binding examples. Crucially, the dislocation mechanism seems to apply after binding relations have been established.

At a first glance, the data concerning non-binding arguments could be easily accounted for under a biclausal approach, where the dislocated constituents are actually

in a base-generated argumental position in a lower clause. This analysis would indeed explain the preferred DO-IO order, but would fail to explain why the IO-DO order is not completely ungrammatical. Instead, a movement approach is much more reliable to account for these data. Firstly, one could argue that the movement (either to the high or the low periphery) is not entirely free, and that it must follow the hierarchical order of the tree, targeting positions that are gradually higher. Hence, when dislocating two arguments (DO and IO), first the low one (IO) moves to a peripheral position (e.g. Spec,TopP, or Spec,RP), then the higher one (DO) must raise to a higher position (e.g. a higher Spec,TopP, or Spec,RP), see (14b). However, to derive the IO-DO order, where both the arguments are right dislocated, it's not possible to postulate a simple movement of the IO from its base position to a peripheral position which is higher than the one of the dislocated DO: this would yield a nesting configuration and an anticyclicity effect (14c). The only way is to firstly arrive at a configuration like (14b), and then further move the IO to a higher position (14d).

- (14) a. Base order: [DO [IO]]
 b. DO-IO order: [_{Spec,TopP} DO [IO [_{t_{DO}} [_{t_{IO}}]]]]
 c. IO-DO order: *[_{Spec,TopP} IO [DO [_{t_{DO}} [_{t_{IO}}]]]]
 d. IO-DO order: [_{Spec,TopP} IO [DO [_{t_{IO}} [_{t_{DO}} [_{t_{IO}}]]]]]

An alternative method to achieve a similar solution is by claiming that in the sentences above the target constituents for the RD operation are not two separate DPs, but instead the whole VP. This is in line with Samek-Lodovici (2015) analysis and can be easily explained within his R-marking system. RD-phrases are assumed to be R-marked, in virtue of their given nature (15a). To account for above examples a rule should be postulated that claims that when a maximal projection (e.g. VP) is R-marked, is preferable to dislocate it as a whole instead of slicing it in separate constituents (15b). The latter operation (15c) is not entirely banned but must be motivated on some extent, in fact I wouldn't exclude that the problematic sentences could be correct in an appropriate context. Example (16) is a derivation of the sentence in (7); note that the structures of examples (15-16) refer to a step of the derivation prior to IP-inversion.

- (15) a. Base order: [IP... [XP_R a b]]
 b. XP dislocation: [RP [XP_R a b] [IP... t_{XP,R}]]
 c. Arg. dislocation: [RP[b_R a_R t_{b,R} [IP... [XP t_{a,R} t_{b,R}]]]]
- (16) a. Base order: [IP *pro* ho prestato [VP_R il libro [a Giorgia]]]
 b. VP dislocation: [RP [VP_R il libro [a Giorgia]] [IP ho prestato t_{VP,R}]]

Note that here I didn't signal the distribution of the Focus to not exceeding in details. However, all the sentences above are consistent with the basic assumption of Samek-Lodovici (2015) analysis. Indeed, there is the possibility to assign Contrastive Focus to the main verb, implying Focus element to be inside the R-marked element (VP). This is exactly the syntactic context which is assumed to trigger RD (see §2.4.1)

3.3.2 Focus-final sentences in Samek-Lodovici (2015)

The findings on argument order in Right Dislocated phrases can be useful to clarify a question regarding Samek-Lodovici (2015)'s analysis. Given his account (§2.4.1), Focus-final sentences like (17) are problematic to explain:

- (17) Gianni l'ha dato, [il libro]_R, [a MARIA]_F
 Gianni it-has given the book to Maria
 "Gianni gave the book to Mary"

Recall that, within this model, assuming *il libro* to be right dislocated implies that, first of all, the Focus phrase has evacuated its A-position by left-adjointing the VP. Consequently, prior to dislocation, the structure should resemble (18):

- (18) [IP Gianni l'ha dato [VP a MARIA_{F,i} [VP il libro t_i]_R]]

Two main problems arise: (1) there is no way in which the Focused element can be rightmost in the sentence after IP-inversion; (2) sentence (17) would violate the constraint *Right Dislocate*²⁹, which is the second higher constraint in the hierarchy that regulates RD.

Bocci (2013) uses this type of sentences to criticize clause-external analyses, in fact in a clause-internal account of RD there is virtually no problem in the derivation.

²⁹ The constraint that Imposes R-marked constituents to be rightmost in the uttP.

However, Samek-Lodovici (2015: 110-111) discussing Bocci (2013), questions the right dislocated status of phrases like *il libro* in (17) in favor of a Afterthought (AT) interpretation. The two main arguments go as follow:

1. such phrases are interpreted as contrastive, while real RD-phrase can never receive contrastive reading.³⁰ Compare (19) and (20):

- (19) a. Lo devi presentare, Giovanni, a MARINA
 him you.must introduce, Giovanni, to Marina
 "You must introduce him to Marina, Giovanni"
- b. Lo devi presentare, Giovanni, non Marco, a MARINA
 him you.must introduce Giovanni not Marco to Marina
 "You must introduce him to Marina, Giovanni, not Marco"
- (20) a. Lo devi presentare a MARINA, Giovanni_R
 him you.must introduce to Marina Giovanni
- b. *Lo devi presentare a MARINA, Giovanni_R, non Marco
 him you.must introduce to Marina Giovanni, not Marco

2. such phrases can be introduced by expression like *I mean*, a typical property of AT:

- (21) Lo devi presentare, Giovanni intendo, a MARINA
 him you.must introduce Giovanni I.mean to Maria
 "You must introduce him, Giovanni I mean, to Marina"

Samek-Lodovici (2015) however, does not give any analysis of AT.

According to Bocci (2013: 35-36) RD has two properties that differentiate it from AT:

1. RD is constrained by the RRC³¹, while AT is not. Hence, whenever a constituent appears outside the RRC (22), it must be an AT:

30 This fact is connected to the pragmatic nature of AT as opposed to RD: RD must be linked to a contextually given topic, while AT serves as a resolution to an ambiguity of an element in the matrix clause, hence selecting a referent from a set of alternatives (Ott 2017: 6; Kalbertodt, Primus and Schumacher 2015).

31 Samek-Lodovici 2015 shares this assumption only for the extraction from finite complements. Moreover, he shows multiple examples of RRC violations, making this test a little problematic.

- (22) Gliel'ha dato Gianni quando stavamo per PARTIRE, il libro a Maria (intendo)
 to.her-it has given Gianni when we.were to leave, the book to Mary (I.mean)
 "Gianni gave it to her, the book to Mary, when we were about to leave"

2. the order of RD-phrases is free, then the order of AT-phrases is not. I actually find the order of RD arguments to be relevant, as I discussed in the previous section, but not at the point of resulting in ungrammaticality:

- (23) a. Gliel' ha dato Gianni, il libro a Maria
 to.her-it has gave Gianni the book to Mary
 b. ?Gliel' ha dato Gianni, a Maria il libro.
 to.her-it has gave Gianni to Mary the book
 "Gianni gave the book to Mary"

- (24) a. Gliel'ha dato Gianni quando stavamo per partire, il libro a Maria intendo
 b. ???Gliel'ha dato Gianni quando stavamo per partire, a Maria il libro intendo

According to these properties we can test sentence (22), by making it Focus-final and following a simple prediction: if the prefocal phrases are RD then changing the order of the arguments of a ditransitive verb should worsen the sentence but not making it ungrammatical (as chapter 3.1.2.1 shows); if the phrase is an AT, then changing the order should make the sentence ungrammatical, similarly to (24). As example (25) shows, changing of the order of the arguments results in a much degraded sentence, in my opinion parallel to the worsening in (24), hence we could postulate the AT status of these constituents:

- (25) a. (?)Gliel' ha dato Gianni, il libro, a Maria, quando stavamo per PARTIRE
 to.her-it has given Gianni the book to Mary, when we.were to leave
 b. ???Gliel' ha dato Gianni, a Maria, il libro, quando stavamo per PARTIRE
 to.her-it has given Gianni to Mary the book when we.were to leave

However, a few considerations on this point are in order: (a) the tests proposed by Bocci (2013) are not particularly reliable in my opinion, because, as I showed previously the order of RD constituents is not as free as he proposed, and in sentences like (25) the length of the clause can play a role in the evaluation; (b) there is no clear syntactic analysis of AT: the one proposed by Ott (2017), implies the dislocated constituents to be *in-situ* (similar to RD), and this would indeed explain the preference of DO-IO. Nonetheless, this also points to the fact that from a syntactic point of view AT and RD show a continuity, and that, at least for Italian³², their difference is not to be researched in the Syntactic properties, rather in discourse-semantic properties (such as topic continuity vs referent ambiguity), and indeed prosodic properties (such as the strength of tone boundaries or pitch reduction). The conclusion that all Focus-final sentences like (17) represent an AT must certainly be confirmed by more specific studies, and in the prosodic experiment of this work I will assume this kind of sentences to be RD, in order to study the effect of Focus on dislocated constituents as in Bocci (2008 2013). Nonetheless, given that the strength of prosodic boundaries will be taken into consideration, major differences will be noted and they will be indeed relevant for this discussion.

3.4 Clause internal vs Clause external: binding phenomena

In the clause internal vs clause external discussion, that I showed in Chapter 1, there are some sets of data about binding relations which are still problematic, namely those regarding Principle C and Principle B. The issue arises from the divergence in observations between the two key accounts, Cecchetto (2000) and Samek-Lodovici (2015), regarding the behaviors of Italian. Forming a conclusive understanding is very difficult without the formulation of personal data. At the same time, it seems to me that if these tests will turn out to be significant, and this is not to be taken for granted, they would certainly yield important results for the discernment between the two analyses. In this section then, I will provide my own data regarding these phenomena, and I will

³² It's easier for Germanic languages to find morpho-syntactic correlate of this distinction, like the optionality of case agreement in the clitic (see Kalbertodt, Primus and Schumacher 2015)

advance some conclusive thoughts on the matter. Note that in §1.4.2 I already discussed some of these data under the biclausal account proposed by Ott (2017), and crucially this latter turned out to be untenable due to its weak explicatory abilities.

3.4.1 Principle C violations: the Argument vs Adjunct asymmetry

As already mentioned in §1.3.2, Cecchetto (1999) claims that the reconstruction of dislocated phrases at LF shows an asymmetry between CLLD and CLRD. I will sum up the main points of each account. While in CLLD there is a distinction between Arguments and Adjuncts, where the former reconstruct into their base position, but the latter do not due to their late-insertion, in CLRD this asymmetry is not present. This is visible through the fact that when preverbal subjects (in Spec,TP) and the dislocated phrases are coindexed, in the CLLD only the Argument condition (26b) yields a Principle C violation, while in CLRD both the sentences, in the Argument condition (27b) and in the Adjunct condition (27a), violate Principle C. Examples (26) and (27) are the same of (35-36) in Chapter 1, and they are the sentences from Cecchetto (1999); the alternation comes from the Arguments and Adjuncts of the DP *l'annuncio*:

- (26) a. *L'annuncio che [un politico]_i dà alla stampa, pro_i lo smentisce sempre dopo poche ore*
the announcement that a politician gives to the press (he) it denies always after few hours
"A few hours after he has given it to the press, a politician always denies his own statement"
- b. **L'annuncio che [un politico]_i viene arrestato, pro_i lo smentisce sempre dopo poche ore*
the announcement that a politician is being arrested, (he) it denies always after few hours
"A few hours after he was arrested, a politician always denies the announcement"

- (27) a. * *pro_i* lo smentisce sempre dopo poche ore, l'annuncio che [un politico]_i dà alla stampa
 (he) it denies always after few hours the announcement that a politician gives to-the press
- b. * *pro_i* lo smentisce sempre dopo poche ore, l'annuncio che [un politico]_i viene arrestato
 (he) it denies always after few hours, the announcement that a politician is being arrested

These data are interpreted by Cecchetto as a proof of the clause internal nature of RD: CLRD always exhibits Principle C violation because it is always c-commanded by preverbal subjects, regardless of the argument vs adjunct nature of the dislocated element.

Samek-Lodovici (2015), however, disagrees with Cecchetto in finding (27b) ungrammatical, and with the pragmatic plausibility of (27), see footnote 13 in Chapter 1. Nonetheless, he also observes that the Adjunct/Argument asymmetry is evident also in RD:

- (28) a. [*pro_j* non le rivela *t_i* certo ai giornali], [le prove_i che il procuratore_j trova in un'inchiesta]_{RD}
 (he) not them reveals certainly to-the newspapers, the evidence that the public-prosecutor finds during an investigation
 "Public prosecutor certainly does not reveal to the newspapers the evidence that he collects during an investigation"
- b. * [*pro_j* non le rivela *t_i* certo ai giornali], [le prove_i che il procuratore_j viola la legge]_{RD}
 (he) not them reveals certainly to-the newspapers, the evidence that the public-prosecutor-chief breaks the law
 "Public prosecutor certainly does not reveal to the newspapers the evidence that he breaks the law"

The presence of this asymmetry points to a unified analysis of both LD and RD, and therefore is good evidence for a clause-external account of RD.

Following these examples, I formulate my own examples to see if the asymmetry holds on most cases or not. In the following examples the order of the conditions for each group of four is always: a. CLLD-Adjunct, b. CLLD-Argument, c. CLRD-Adjunct, d. CLRD-Argument.

- (29) a. La promessa che Maria_i ha fatto, *pro*_i non la manterrà *CLLD-adj*
the promise that Maria has made, (she) not it will.Keep
"The promise Maria made, she won't keep it"
- b. ?* La promessa che Maria_i sarà fedele, * *pro*_i non la manterrà *CLLD-arg*
the promise that Maria will.be loyal, (she) not it will.Keep
"The promise that Maria will be loyal, she won't keep it"
- c. ? *pro*_i non la manterrà, la promessa che Maria_i ha fatto *CLRD-adj*
(she) not it will.Keep, the promise that Maria has made
- d. * *pro*_i non la manterrà, la promessa che Maria_i sarà fedele *CLRD-arg*
(she) not it will.Keep, the promise that Maria will.be loyal
- (30) a. Le dichiarazioni che un politico_i fa in campagna elettorale, *pro*_i le smentisce subito
the statements that a politician makes in campaign, (he) them denies immediately
"A politician denies immediately the statements that he made during campaign"
- b. ?? Le dichiarazioni che un politico_i evade le tasse, *pro*_i le smentisce subito
the statements that a politician evades the taxes, (he) them denies immediately
"A politician denies immediately the statements that he evades taxes"
- c. *pro*_i le smentisce subito, le dichiarazioni che un politico_i fa in campagna elettorale
(he) them denies immediately, the statements that a politician made in campaign
- d. * *pro*_i le smentisce subito, le dichiarazioni che un politico_i evade le tasse
(he) them denies immediately, the statements that a politician evades the taxes
- (31) a. Le comunicazioni che il preside_i manda, *pro*_i non le scrive il giorno stesso
the notices that the the principle send, (he) not them write the day same
"The principle doesn't write on the same day the notices that he sends"

b. *Le comunicazioni che il preside_i sarà assente, *pro*_i non la scrive il giorno stesso

the notices that the principle will.be absent, (he) not them write the day same

"The principle doesn't write on the same day the notices that he will be absent"

c. ?? *pro*_i non le scrive il giorno stesso, le comunicazioni che il preside_i manda

(he) not them write the day same, the notices that the the principle send

d. **pro*_i non le scrive il giorno stesso, le comunicazioni che il preside_i sarà assente

(he) not them write the day same, the notices that the principle will.be absent

(32) a. La regola che un arbitro_i ha imposto, *pro*_i la deve rispettare durante tutta la partita

the rule that a referee has imposed, (he) it must observe during all the match

"A referee must observe during the entire match the rule that he imposed"

b. ?? La regola che un arbitro_i non può toccare la palla, *pro*_i la deve rispettare durante tutta la partita

the rule that a referee not can touch the ball, (he) it must observe during entire the match

"A referee must during the entire match the rule that ne can't touch the ball"

c. ? *pro*_i la deve rispettare durante tutta la partita, la regola che un arbitro_i ha imposto

(he) it must observe during all the match, the rule that a referee has imposed

d. * *pro*_i la deve rispettare durante tutta la partita, la regola che un arbitro_i non può toccare la palla

(he) it must observe during entire the match, the rule that a referee not can touch the ball

From the examples above it seems licit to claim the existence of a consistent asymmetry in CLRD between the Argument and Adjunct condition. Indeed, in all the sentences a worsening effect is observed in the CLRD-Argument condition with respect to the CLRD-Adjunct condition. Also, it is worth noting that Sanchez (2017) tried the same

test on Catalan, and he observed very similar results, with a very high rate of asymmetries in CLRD. This fact points to a unified account of CLLD and CLRD, and give strength to the clause external analyses of RD.

However, an important consideration must be done for these types of examples, namely that the complexity and the length of the utterance play an important role in the grammaticality judgment. In first instance, these sentences are *per se* complex and sometime (e.g. 31c) marginal or not very natural. Personally, I find way more difficult to evaluate a long sentence like (32) than a shorter sentence like (29), similarly, sentences with mixed tenses like (31c) are more problematic than sentences with homogeneous tenses (30c-32c). Intuitively, factors like the distance of the dependencies and the mixed tenses, along with dislocation operations, make the picture way more problematic. Nevertheless, the resulting asymmetry seems to me to be quite evident and hence significative to the discussion in the literature about RD.

3.4.2 Principle B violations

According to Cecchetto (2000:10) the site of reconstruction of dislocated phrases is above the position of postverbal subjects, where the BigDP moves as a whole from its base position (see §1.3.2.2 for more details). Therefore, if a dislocated phrase contains a pronominal expression coindexed with the postverbal subject, the former would not be properly bound at LF, being the subject lower. (Cecchetto (2000) assumes the postverbal subject to be in Spec,VP at LF.)

As Bocci (2013) shows, this is what happens in CLLD, in (33a) *sua* is not properly bound by the postverbal subject at LF³³; while if the subject is preverbal (33) the binding relation is felicitous:

- (33) a. * La sua_i relazione, non l'ha ancora consegnata nessuno_i
 the his report not it-has yet handed.over nobody
 "Nobody has handed over his report yet"
- b. La sua_i relazione, nessuno_i l'ha ancora consegnata
 the his report nobody it-has yet handed.over

³³ I disagree with the ungrammaticality of (viii), which instead seems to me marginal but grammatical overall.

- (34) a. (?) Non l'ha ancora consegnata nessuno_i, la sua_i relazione
 not it-has yet handed.over nobody his report
 b. Nessuno_i l'ha ancora consegnata, la sua_i relazione
 nobody it-has yet handed.over the his report

However, in RD (34b) things works differently and *sua* appears to be properly bound regardless of the position of the subject. Cecchetto and Bocci interpret this fact as a result of the clause-internal status of RD-phrases: being the RD-phrase in the low periphery of the clause, there are no moments in the derivation in which it is higher than the subject. If RD would be clause-external, and therefore derived from CLLD, there is no reason for this asymmetry between the two constructions.

I have come up with my own data, considering a RD-phrase with a pronoun which is coindexed with a postverbal subject. I also considered the impact of different Informational Structures on binding by changing the focused element.

- (35) a. ?Il suo_i tema, l'ha letto in classe GIANNI_i
 the his essay, it-has read in class Gianni
 "His essay, Gianni read it in class"
 b. Il suo_i tema, l'ha letto in CLASSE Gianni_i
 the his essay, it-has read in class Gianni
 c. ?L'ha letto in classe GIANNI_i, il suo_i tema
 it-has read in class Gianni, the his essay
 "Gianni read it in class, his essay"
 d. L'ha letto in CLASSE Gianni_i, il suo tema_i
 it-has read in class Gianni, the his essay
- (36) a. ???A casa sua_i, ci è arrivato subito GIANNI_i
 at house his, there is arrived immediately Gianni
 "Gianni arrived immediately at his house"
 b. A casa sua_i, ci è arrivato SUBITO Gianni_i
 at house his, there is arrived immediately Gianni
 c. ??Ci è arrivato subito GIANNI_i, a casa sua_i
 there is arrived immediately Gianni, at house his

- d. Ci è arrivato SUBITO Gianni_i, a casa sua_i
 there is arrived immediately Gianni, at his house
- (37) a. *La sua_i relazione, l'ha consegnata ieri GIANNI_i
 the his report it-has handed.over yesterday Gianni
 "Gianni handed over his report yesterday"
- b. La sua_i relazione, l'ha consegnata IERI Gianni_i
 the his report, it-has handed.over yesterday Gianni
- c. *? L'ha consegnata ieri GIANNI_i, la sua_i relazione
 it-has handed.over yesterday Gianni the his report
- d. L'ha consegnata IERI Gianni_i, la sua_i relazione
 it-has handed.over yesterday Gianni the his report

From the data it seems that in general CLRD performs slightly better than CLLD, but also no crucial asymmetry is observed between the two constructions for what concerns the principle B. It is quite remarkable the effect of information structural properties on binding, especially in (35b) and (36b), where the binding relations between the RD-item and the postverbal subject significantly improves if the subject is unfocused. This may suggest that dislocate constituent reconstructs lower than the position pointed by Cecchetto, hence their A-position, because the unfocused subject could be interpreted as Marginalized (*in-situ*).

To make sure that the contrast between (33) and (34) is not due to the presence of indefinites, I also tried sentences with indefinites subjects:

- (38) a. *? La sua_i relazione, l'ha già consegnata QUALCUNO_i
 the his report it-has already handed.over somebody
 "Somebody already handed over his report"
- b. La sua_i relazione, l'ha già CONSEGNATA qualcuno_i
 the his report it-has already handed.over somebody
- c. ??? L'ha già consegnata QUALCUNO_i, la sua_i relazione
 it-has already handed.over somebody the his report
- d. L'ha già CONSEGNATA qualcuno_i, la sua_i relazione
 it-has already handed.over somebody, the his report

- (39) a. *La loro_i relazione, l'hanno già consegnata ALCUNI_i
the their report it-have already handed.over some
- b. L'hanno già consegnata ALCUNI_i, la loro_i relazione
it-have already handed.over some, the their report
- (40) a. ?Il suo_i tema corretto, non l'ha ancora visto NESSUNO_i
the his essay correct not it-has yet seen nobody
"Nobody has seen his corrected essay yet"
- b. Non l'ha ancora visto NESSUNO_i, il suo_i tema corretto
not it-has yet seen nobody the his essay correct

The results are slightly more contrastive than the one with lexical subjects, but I think that the sentences are overall more marginal. I assume this marginality, connected to the negative concord, to be the responsible for the contrast in Cecchetto's data, with the side note that his ungrammaticality judgment of (33a) is too strong in my opinion. Anyway, also with indefinites the difference is not crucial, and still there seems to be no problem with the Principle B. The fact that in both set of data, slightly more in the latter, RD works better in terms of binding relation can be explained by the fact that superficially in RD the pronoun in the dislocated phrase always follows the coindexed DP. This linear precedence could play a significative role in improving the binding interpretation of the two items. Finally, that IS can intervene in the binding relations is a well-known point in the literature (Sanchez 2017: 60), and could make binding overall a weaker diagnostic to determine the structural representation of such constructions. I will not go into details. However, I want to stress the fact that the important point in discussion here is the symmetry between CLLD and CLRD, and the examples above show symmetry between the two constructions even in the opposition between different IS. Moreover, this shows the importance of taking IS into consideration when in the analysis of dislocation construction.

In conclusion there seems to be no asymmetry between CLLD and CLRD for what concerns Principle B. Note that this fact point to a unified account of the two phenomena, but it does not exclude completely a clause-internal derivation with a few adjustments. However, the main observation that the reconstruction properties of CLLD

and CLRD are similar, points to the obvious conclusion that they should have similar structural representation.

3.4.3 Conclusions

Given the phrases above we can postulate that no relevant asymmetry is present between CLLD and CLRD, for what concerns Principle B and Principle C of the Binding Theory. This favors an analysis that draws a similarity in the structural representation of the two constructions, hence a clause-external one. The sentences used for the test are complex, and most of them marginal, therefore, the evaluation is sometimes problematic, but indeed the results are very consistent. In particular, the data show a very similar behavior in terms of reconstruction properties of dislocated constituents. In the Principle B test emerged that CLRD works better in the binding between a postverbal subject and a possessive pronoun inside the dislocate constituent, this fact is probably due to the final linear position of the two items, that facilitate a bound reading. This test also shows the importance of IS for binding relations, in fact, focused subjects struggle more to bind possessive with respect to unfocused ones. This observation may imply bigger problems in the reliability binding judgment itself, however, the important aspect is that CLLD and CLRD show symmetry in any case.

3.4 Conclusions and remarks

In this chapter, in first instance, I showed two main properties of Italian CLRD that concern the morpho-syntax of the dislocated element, namely:

- (a) sensitivity to higher degrees of the Individuation/Animacy hierarchy: in particular CLRD (and CLLD) shows a differential object marking for dislocated I-II person accusative pronouns which is in line with the phenomenon of Prepositional Accusative in Standard Italian described by Berretta (1989);
- (b) a preferential order for dislocated arguments, following the base generated order, that casts doubt on the claim that the order of dislocated constituents in RD is free (Bocci 2013, Samek-Lodovici 2015).

Both these findings may not be crucial on the syntactic derivation of Italian CLRD, however, in my opinion, they provide important new morpho-syntactical data to be implemented in an analysis of such constructions. In addition, I tested two critical contexts for the clause-external and clause-external analyses, namely the Adjunct/Argument asymmetry described by Cecchetto (1999) concerning Principle C, and the binding relations between RD-phrases and postverbal subjects (Principle B). These two tests aimed to check whether there is a substantial symmetry between CLLD and CLRD in terms of syntactic relations. Crucially, I showed that in these contexts there is no significant asymmetry between CLLD and CLRD. These results, the one concerning Principle C in particular, clearly favor an analysis in which CLLD and CLRD are strictly connected, and in which both are accounted with an IP-external position.

As a further remark, some aspects of the points I discussed remain open. Firstly, the discussion about the differential *a*-marking revealed a significant lack of data in the literature for what concerns children's productions of CLRD in Italian. Compared to its counterpart CLLD, CLRD seems to be deeply neglected in the language acquisition literature, maybe this is caused by some difficulties in creating an appropriate context for children to elicit this construction. However, some basic questions remain open: do Italian children use CLRD when the context allows for it? From what age and to what degree of completeness? etc. Moreover, in the tests about the binding relations, two problematic aspects came into place: the relation between binding relations and IS, and the importance of the effect of the linear structure in the binding relations. Both these issues deserve more space and effort to be fully discussed than what I have here, however, in further studies it would be of vital importance to understand better the interrelation of these factors, not only for RD, but for the whole diagnostic system of morpho-syntactic relations.

4 Italian CLRD: a Prosodic experiment

In Chapter 2 I discussed the most relevant prosodic accounts for Italian RD. The conclusions led us towards an analysis which assumes:

- (1) a non-isomorphic relation between Syntax, IS and Prosody, a position that is strengthened by the findings of Crocco (2013) about RD-polar questions;
- (2) the position of the Focus to be the most relevant factors in the prosodic realization of RD-phrases: Bocci (2008 2013) showed that no specific PA is assigned to RD *per se*, but instead the intonational properties of RD are determined in virtue of its position with respect to focus.

Accepting such conclusions raises the crucial question if RD is in anyway part of the grammar of Italian from a Prosodic standpoint. Following Bocci (2013), RD behaves like any other constituent, and its often stated "deaccented nature" (Giorgi 2015) is due to the high probability for RD-phrases to appear as postfocal. Again, the rule assigning L* to postfocal material is a general rule that concerns all types of constituents, not RD *per se*. Samek-Lodovici (2015) instead, proposes specific OT constraints that regulate RD, both from a syntactic and a prosodic point of view: RD is the result of the interaction of Focus and Givenness (as the title of his 2015's work states).

Given this picture, in the below experiment I tried to answer a very generic, yet unaddressed, question, namely: What are the prosodic properties of CLRD that do not vary across different type of syntactic-informational contexts?

In other words, what is the greatest common divisor in terms of prosodic properties when we consider different instances of CLRD. In order to answer to this question I conducted a production experiment based on scripted speech. For the sake of this experiment I considered only sentences with DO as RD-phrases, and always with the clitic doubling of the dislocated phrase. The relevant contexts I will take into consideration are the position of RD-phrases with respect to Focus, and RD-polar questions. For what regards the first set of context, the present experiment is very similar to the one conducted by Bocci in 2008, which will be an important benchmark for our results. Intuitively, from the discussion above, we can claim that the only

property that will remain invariable among different contexts is probably going to be an independent phrasing of RD: this imply the presence of a prosodic boundary between the main clause and the RD-phrase.

4.1 Methodology

4.1.1 Speakers and recordings

The experiment was conducted in the city of Vicenza (Italy). For this study five speakers were analyzed, three females and two males, all of whom were 25-26 years old. All the speakers are monolingual native speaker of the variety of Italian spoken in Vicenza (Veneto Centrale). All the speakers have a Master's degree. The recordings were conducted with a Shure MS57 microphone through a Behringer U-PHORIA UMC404HD Audio Interface, in Audacity with a sample rate of 48 kHz and a quantization of 16 bits. The software used to analyze the data was *praat*.

4.1.2 Material

The material consists of CLRD sentences of one or two prosodic word (the Direct Object) in three different contexts: prefocal, postfocal and polar questions. The dislocated words are paroxytonic words, which are the most common in Italian. Every sentence with CLRD had to be compared with a parallel non-CLRD in order to have a clear idea of what phenomena are actually caused by the dislocation (hence, it sums up to a total of 6 conditions). Before every target sentence a context is given where the RD-phrase is mentioned, in order to make sure that the CLRD is correctly licensed from a pragmatical point of view (i.e. that it is contextually given). However, this feature was not maintained in polar questions, where the RD-phrase is systematically not given in the context: although this might not the natural expectations for CLRD, Crocco (2013) points out that in CLRD-polar questions the RD-phrase can be a discourse new-constituent (see §2.4.3). In addition the contexts also provide the function of filler clauses.

(1) An example of the material

(a) Italian

Context: Ci si sta organizzando in famiglia per il pranzo di Natale da fare in un ristorante fuori città raggiungibile solo in macchina. Si stanno organizzando i posti in macchina, e Gianni abita più vicino di tutti gli altri fratelli alla casa della madre. Anna propone una possibile soluzione:

Anna: "Direi che Beppe potrebbe portare la mamma. In tal caso noi passeremo dalla zia Sara."

Beppe:

- a. No. GIANNI la potrebbe portare, la mamma
- b. No. GIANNI potrebbe portare la mamma
- c. No. La potrebbe portare, la mamma, GIANNI
- d. No. Potrebbe portare la mamma GIANNI

(b) English translation

Context: Arrangements are being made in the family for Christmas lunch, which will be done at an out-of-town restaurant reachable only by car. Car seats are being arranged, and Gianni lives closer than all the other siblings to his mother's house. Anna proposes a possible solution:

Anna: "I would say Beppe could bring Mum. In that case we will drop by Aunt Sara's."

Beppe: (gloss from Italian)

- a. No. GIANNI her could bring, Mum
- b. No. GIANNI could bring Mum
- c. No. her he-could bring, Mum, GIANNI
- d. No. he-could bring Mum GIANNI

The context is the same for 4 sentences (1a-d), and all are constructed to reply the same context clause. (1a) and (1c) are the CLRD sentences, respectively in the postfocal

condition and in the prefocal condition; (1b) is the dislocation-less sentence used for a comparison against (1a), and (1d) the one used against (1c). For each condition there were 4 sentences, hence a total of $4 \times 6 = 24$ target sentences.

4.1.3 Procedure

The stimuli were divided into two blocks, in order to prevent the appearance of the CLRD sentence and its non-dislocated counterpart in the same block, and presented to the speaker in a randomized order. The speakers read the entire set of data for a total of three times. The commas were not indicated nor in the context, neither in the target sentences, to avoid forcing a specific intonation and parsing of the utterance: hence, the speaker were asked to pronounce the sentence with the intonation that they consider the most adequate for the sentence.

4.1.4 Analysis and predictions

After the relevant sentences have been isolated from the contexts, the audio files have been transcribed in phonemes by the software *WebMAUS*, in order to facilitate the annotation process. For the sake of the experiment, for every speaker only the second and the third repetitions of each item were analyzed. Any disfluent or explicitly wrong production was replaced by another repetitions of the same item.³⁴ Moreover, some sentences that were still problematic, due to a possible misinterpretation of the text by the speaker, were subjected to a jury of three independent speakers in order to decide their status. If a sentence was still considered problematic at this stage it has been eliminated from the final set. The analyzed set has 230 target items.

The software *praat* was used to annotate the audio files. For what concerns the segmentation, the location of the syllable preceding (*sp*) the RD-item and the syllables of the RD-item (*s0* for the stressed syllable, *sf* for the final one, and with a numeration from 9 for those preceding *s0*) was annotated for every sentence. Similarly was done for

³⁴ By explicitly wrong is meant any production that did not perform the instruction that were explicitly given in the experimental set. For example the attribution of the Focus to the wrong element in the utterance when this was signaled by the capital letters (i.e. in the declarative sentences) was a very common mistake.

the vowels within the *sp*, *s0* and *sf* (*vp*, *v0* and *vf*). These annotations are crucial to define the prosodic structure underlying the sentences. In fact, as already mentioned in Chapter 2, the presence of a prosodic boundary implies a lengthening of the preceding phonological material (pre-boundary lengthening), which of course is most visible on the vowels. Hence, if we expect RD-items to be wrapped up in a separate intonational phrase, we should observe a significative lengthening effect on *sp* and *sf* only in the RD condition, while, no such effect should occur in the 'bare' non-dislocated condition.

The intonation was transcribed according to the ToBI system of annotation, following the indications for Italian varieties in Grice et al. (2005) and Gili Fivela et al. (2015). For the declarative sentences I only transcribed the intonation of the RD-phrase and the eventual edge tone before the dislocation. For the polar question instead, since the position of the Focus was not made explicit in the experimental material and the speakers had to decide where to have prominence, I annotated the position of the Focus (VF if the verb is focalized, FOD if the direct object is), and I also gave an intonation transcription of the focalized element. Following the hypothesis of Bocci (2008 2013), if L* (which is a notation that stands for a low and flat pitch contour) is the PA assigned to postfocal material in general and not to RD-phrases per se, we expect postfocal RD to be mostly assigned a low and flat pitch, while prefocal RD to be assigned a fully-fledged PA (e.g. H+L*). Finally, if Crocco (2013) is right, we should observe that polar questions involving RD exhibit a different intonational pattern in comparison to declarative sentences. In particular, she shows that in polar questions DOs doubled by the clitic tend to display a fully-fledged PA, also when they are linearly after a Focus constituent (most likely the main verb).

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Declaratives

For what concerns the metric phrasing of declaratives, Table 9 shows the average durations of the syllable preceding (*sp*) the DO in milliseconds for each item in the postfocal and prefocal conditions. Table 10 shows the *sp* durations in ms on average for the two conditions. In the tables in this chapter DO^{+cl} individuates the sentences with the

direct object doubled by the clitic (hence the CLRD sentences), while DO^{-cl} stands for the sentences where the object is *in-situ*. The data in the column *Lengthening* are obtained by subtracting the duration of DO^{-cl} from DO^{+cl} .

Table 9: Average sp durations in ms for each items

<i>DO position</i>	<i>Item Number</i>	DO^{-cl}	DO^{+cl}	<i>Lengthening</i>	<i>Lengthening percentage</i>
Postfocal	1	67	79	12	19.03%
	2	82	91	9	10.82%
	3	64	75	11	18.43%
	4	66	83	17	26.04%
Prefocal	5	93	125	32	34.62%
	6	88	136	48	55.58%
	7	80	139	59	72.15%
	8	90	149	59	65.80%
Total		79	107	28	35.79%

Table 10: Average sp durations in ms for declarative sentences

<i>DO position</i>	DO^{-cl}	DO^{+cl}	<i>Lengthening</i>	<i>Lengthening percentage</i>
Postfocal	70	82	12	18.14%
Prefocal	87	137	50	56.43%

An important lengthening effect (50 ms, 18%) is indeed present for the prefocal CLRD with respect to the non-clitic doubled counterpart. In the postfocal context the effect is still present but the difference between the two condition is minor (12 ms, 56%). On average in declarative sentences there is a lengthening effect of the *sp* of the 35.79%, a result which is consistent for every item of the set. A similar result is observable in the durations of the vowels in the *sp* (hence *vp*), in Table 11 and Table 12.

Table 11: Average vp durations in ms for each items

<i>DO position</i>	<i>Item number</i>	<i>DO^{-cl}</i>	<i>DO^{+cl}</i>	<i>Lengthening</i>	<i>Lengthening percentage</i>
Postfocal	1	45	56	11	25.18%
	2	60	62	2	4.43%
	3	45	51	6	11.15%
	4	46	58	12	26.63%
Prefocal	5	67	95	28	42.15%
	6	60	112	52	85.87%
	7	59	112	53	88.73%
	8	63	124	61	97.56%
Total		56	81	25	45.58%

Table 12: Average vp durations in ms for declarative sentences

<i>DO position</i>	<i>DO^{-cl}</i>	<i>DO^{+cl}</i>	<i>Lengthening</i>	<i>Lengthening percentage</i>
Postfocal	49	57	8	15.95%
Prefocal	62	111	47	77.72%

For what concerns the prefocal contexts, were calculated also the durations of the last syllable of the RD-item (*sf*) before the Focus constituent. As an overall result, a substantial lengthening effect (almost of 20 ms, 11%), in the clitic doubled sentences with respect to non-clitic doubled ones, is observed also on the right edge of RD.

Table 13: Average vf durations in ms for the prefocal sentences

<i>DO position</i>	<i>Item Number</i>	<i>DO^{-cl}</i>	<i>DO^{+cl}</i>	<i>Lengthening</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Prefocal	5	178	160	-18	-9.73%
	6	138	203	65	46.64%
	7	174	188	16	8.40%
	8	151	158	7	4.88%
Total		160	179	19	11.64%
Average		160	178	18	10.97%

Table 14 shows the Pitch Accents on the DO in relation to the focus position and the the clitic vs the cliticless construction.

Table 14: PAs on the DO in declaratives, by count and by percents

Condition		<i>!H+L*</i>	<i>H*+L</i>	<i>H+L*</i>	<i>L*</i>	<i>L+H*</i>	Total
Postfocal	<i>DO^{-cl}</i>	3 (7.5%)		3 (7.50%)	34 (85%)		40
	<i>DO^{+cl}</i>	1 (2.5%)		2 (5%)	37 (92.5%)		40
Prefocal	<i>DO^{-cl}</i>			31 (77.5%)	1 (2.5%)	8 (20%)	40
	<i>DO^{+cl}</i>		2 (6.25%)	27 (84.38%)	1 (3.13%)	2 (6.25%)	32
Total		4 (2.63%)	2 (1.32%)	63 (41.45%)	73 (48.03%)	10 (6.58%)	152

Here the main difference is quite sharp: in the postfocal condition almost 85% of the CLRD sentences and 92.5% of the non-dislocated sentences show a low and flat contour (*L**) on the DO; while, in the prefocal condition, 77.5% of the CLRD sentences and 84.3% of the non-dislocated sentences show a fully-fledged PA (predominantly *H+L**).

4.2.2 Polar questions

Table 15 shows the average duration of the *sp* in millisecond in relation to the presence of the clitic, without considering the Focus position. Even if for some item there is no lengthening, the overall data also show a n important positive percentage in accordance with declarative sentences. In general, in these sentences there were more vowel contacts in the relevant position, this caused a more complex situation to analyze and a tendency towards a reduction in the phonetic realization (e.g. *volete un millefoglie*).

Table 15: Average sp durations in ms for polar questions

<i>Item number</i>	<i>DO^{-cl}</i>	<i>DO^{+cl}</i>	<i>Lengthening</i>	<i>Percentage of lengthening</i>
9	180	210	30	16.76%
10	112	161	49	43.80%
11	90	87	-3	-3.04%
12	94	94	0	-0.31%
Total	118	138	20	16.84%
Average	118	137	19	16.01%

The intonation data regarding polar questions are slightly more complex than the declarative ones, mainly for the fact that in the experimental material the Focus was not explicitly indicated to the speakers. This is not a problem for DO^{+cl}, where it is expected to have prominence on the main verb, however, for the DO^{-cl} items, the speakers could decide to put the main prominence either on the DO, or on the main verb. For instance, for the sentence number 9 in the material both (2b) and (2c) are perfectly possible intonation patterns:

- (2) 2a. Vuoi una tisana?
do-you-want an infusion?
- b. VUOI una tisana? *DO^{-cl}*
do-you-want an infusion
- c. Vuoi una TISANA? *FDO^{-cl}*

For this reason it will important to signal when the DO is focalized (FDO). When not specified I will imply that the prominence is on the verb, as in (2b). Table 16 shows the PAs in relation to the presence of the prominence on the object.

Table 16: PAs on the DO in polar questions, by count and by percents

	<i>H*</i>	<i>H*+L</i>	<i>H+L*</i>	<i>L*</i>	<i>L*+H</i>	<i>L+H*</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>DO^{-cl}</i>		9 (47.37%)	6 (31.58%)	1 (5.26%)	1 (5.26%)	2 (10.53%)	19
<i>FDO^{-cl}</i>	2 (10.53%)	11 (57.89%)	4 (21.05%)	1 (5.26%)		1 (5.26%)	19
<i>DO^{+cl}</i>	1 (2.5%)	14 (35%)	15 (37.5%)	8 (20%)	1 (5.26%)	1 (2.5%)	40
<i>Total</i>	3 (3.85)	34 (43.59%)	25 (32.05%)	10 (12.82%)	2 (2.56%)	4 (5.13%)	78

The pattern of intonation of polar questions is quite different from the one shown in declarative sentences. In fact, here the RD-item, which linearly is always after the Focus, bares a fully-fledged PA in almost 72% of the cases, similarly to the clitic-less objects, and only in the 20% of the cases it is low and flat. Overall, the DO is mostly assigned a fully-fledged PA (mostly *H*+L* or *H+L**) in almost the 75% of the cases.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.2 Declaratives

The data concerning the lengthening of the syllable (*sp*) and the vowel (*vp*) preceding the RD-item in the declarative sentences, clearly show the presence of a left boundary. The phenomenon for which in the prefocal condition this lengthening appears to be longer can be due to the fact that this type of construction, involving the final order *RD-item, Focus*, is more marked in Italian than the one with *Focus, RD-item* order. In fact, during the experiment all of the speakers had problems with this particular sentences, and some of them, even after two repetitions, failed to provide a satisfying prosodic realization. These sentences were the most rejected during the item selection process. It is very likely that the speakers over-performed the metrical pauses in order to accommodate the non-standard contexts.

Moreover, the data about the final syllable (*vf*) of the RD-item in Focus final sentences, solidly indicate the presence of a right edge prosodic boundary for RD-constituents. Note that in principle the lengthening of the right edge of prefocal constituents could be interpreted as connected to a left boundary of the Focus phrase. However, Selkrik (1995) has shown that Focus is not delimited by any left prosodic boundary. Therefore, the lengthening effect on *vf* must be caused only by the RD-item itself. These facts

strongly corroborate the hypothesis of an independent prosodic phrasing for RD-phrases, at least in declarative sentences.

For what concerns intonation, the data overall confirm the conclusions in Bocci (2008 2013), and show the need of a non-isomorphic approach for the Syntax-Prosody interface: the low and flat prosodic contour (*L) is essentially a property of the postfocal material, rather than a property of RD-items. In fact, there is no substantial difference in the intonation contour of postfocal RD sentences and postfocal non-RD: both are assigned a low and flat PA (L*), this means that the crucial variable must be the linear position relative to Focus. When RD-items are prefocal they are for the major part assigned a H+L* pitch contour, similarly to non-dislocated objects.

4.3.3 Polar questions

The scale of the lengthening effect for *sp* in RD-items within polar questions seems to be very similar on average to the one observed in the postfocal condition (16% in polar question vs. 18% in postfocal condition). Note that in this case the position of the Focus is substantially uninfluential, because the presence of the doubling DO clitic alone is able to trigger a RD interpretation, and hence, an independent phrasing of the doubled constituent. Therefore, we can assume the presence of a left edge boundary for RD-items within these constructions.

However, when we look at polar questions, the picture gets more complex. In order to discuss the data concerning the questions is important to recall two crucial aspects of the experimental design: (1) in polar questions the speakers were not informed of the position of the focus; (2) the objects in the questions were all discourse-new, in opposition with declarative sentences. In the first place, it must be said that the speakers, in absence of the clitic doubling, slightly preferred to focalize the DO, while, in presence of the clitic, they always focalized the main verb. This fact strongly confirms the important correlation between RD and Focus, which we have already discussed several times, and it is a key element of the most recent literature on the topic (Bocci 2013, Samek-Lodovici 2015). Overall, we can state that the intonation data show more variation in the PA assignments of polar questions compared to declarative sentences, hence, is not easy to find a way through. Crucially, the pattern

that emerged from this experiment is similar to the one found by Crocco (2013): in fact, the majority of CLRD-objects, which are always postfocal, received a fully fledged PA, similarly to clitic-less DOs. This means that RD within polar questions behaves differently from declaratives in terms of intonation, in that it seems to be essentially non-sensitive to the linear position with respect to Focus. Understanding the motivations behind this different pattern is not an easy task. Crocco (2013) tries to account these data by considering the pragmatic aspects of polar questions: according to her analysis the need for a fully-fledged PA is connected to the discourse-new nature of these constituents, which tend to be marked prosodically in opposition to discourse-given constituents (Crocco 2013: 48). Remember that in more classical accounts, RD-items are thought to be connected to some kind of [+given] feature, and this is surely true for declarative sentences (Samek-Lodovici 2015). However, all the objects in the polar questions in this experiment were designed to be discourse-new. Thus, following Crocco, there would be a substantial distinction in the functions of RD with respect to modality: discourse continuity in declaratives vs. asking about the confirmation of the accessibility of a referent in polar questions (see § 2.4.3). The PA assignments on RD-items would reflect this functional diversification. However, this approach would lead us to infer a strong correspondence between the pragmatic status of a clause (being given vs being non-given) and its prosodic properties (being flat or being fully-fledged). This isomorphism between IS and prosodic properties is a problematic point as we already discussed in Chapter 2, and also, it is not confirmed by empirical data observed by Crocco (2013) herself. In fact, if discourse given constituents must not be marked prosodically, hence, they must receive a flat intonation, then all the given DO in the declaratives should receive the same L* intonation regardless of their position with respect to Focus. Therefore, even if some kind of correspondence between different levels of representation must be indeed present, the path proposed by Crocco (2013) is very tentative and not entirely viable for the premises of our work. The question will remain open for further research.

4.4 Conclusions

In conclusion, this experiment with Northern Italian speakers confirmed that the only prosodic property of Standard Italian RD that does not vary across contexts is the one already expected: RD-constituents are always phrased independently. This is confirmed by the presence of left and right (when observable) prosodic boundaries of most the RD-constituents we analyzed, both in declaratives and in polar questions. Moreover, this property is well accounted in almost every prosodic analyses we have seen so far. However, intonation seems to be variable among contexts, and we can conclude that, from what we observed, Italian RD is not connected to a specific PA. In fact, in declaratives the crucial factor is the linear position relative to Focus, in the polar questions it's not easy to find a convincing account, but the relative intonational patterns are almost opposite to the one showed in declarative sentences. It is very likely that the discourse properties of the RD-constituent and the functional diversification of RD connected to sentence modality have something to do with the intonation patterns, as suggested by Crocco (2013), but more research must be done. The most general observation we can make about the intonation of RD is that the different patterns between declaratives and polar question cannot be accounted by any analysis which states a one to one relation between this construction and an intonational property, like Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2013) or Ott (2017). Finally, it is important to notice that this experiment confirmed the observations made by Bocci (2008 2013) and by Crocco (2013) also for a Northeastern variety of Standard Italian which was been taken into consideration in previous studies.

5. Conclusions and further remarks

For what concerns the syntactic portion, after considering the relevant literature, examining new data from Italian and conducting tests involving binding phenomena, we can conclude that a movement clause-external analysis, such as the one put forth by Samek-Lodovici (2015), demonstrates greater explanatory efficacy in accounting for Italian CLRD. This type of analysis implies a strong symmetry between CLRD and CLLD, which is exactly the result that was observed most frequently in the discussion of the data and in the outcomes of the syntactic tests. Moreover, I provided new data which showed two remarkable properties of Italian CLRD: (a) a sensitivity to higher degrees of the Individuation/Animacy hierarchy, which results in a differential marker of the object; (b) a preferential order of dislocated arguments. Significantly, building on Cruchina (2021) and Samek-Lodovici (2015), it has been demonstrated that a biclausal analysis, such as the one proposed by Ott (2017), is not tenable across various domains (syntactic, pragmatic and prosodic).

In the prosodic experiment conducted on Standard Italian speakers from Vicenza, a consistent observation emerged: the main prosodic property of CLRD which remains constant across various syntactic and pragmatic contexts is that the dislocated constituent is consistently phrased independently from the rest of the clause. Moreover, the observed intonational patterns solidly confirm a preference toward a prosodic analysis which assumes a non-isomorphic mapping between Syntax, Prosody and IS. In fact, from the collected data reveals that there is not a specific PA exclusively correlated with CLRD. More, specifically the rule for PAs assignment seems to vary in function of the clause modality, as observed by Crocco (2013). For declarative sentences the crucial factor seems to be the relative position with respect to Focus, as outlined by Bocci 2013. However, this constraint does not hold for polar questions, and the account for the data can only be tentative in absence of further evidence.

Throughout this research, an interesting aspect emerged which remain still uncovered among the existing literature, namely the acquisition of such construction by Italian speaking children. I believe this point could to be a particularly interesting field for further research on Italian RD, in particular from a syntactic point of view it could

contribute to shed lights on the ongoing debate regarding the structural characteristics of this construction.

The findings on prosodic properties, and in particular on polar questions, raise an interesting point about the possibility of thinking about syntactic structures as objects that can have different functions within different contexts: CLRD shows completely different prosodic properties and IS profiles in function of the modality of the sentence in which it is inserted. This fact indeed points towards a non isomorphic mapping of the interfaces, but also leaves open some questions about how many of the features involved in CLRD are actually manipulated by the core syntactic component, and how many of these features are really relevant for the structural computation of CLRD. For instance, the [+given] feature that seemed central for the dislocation in declarative sentences, in polar questions instead is not as crucial. In these regards, Samek-Lodovici (2015) clearly denies a heavily syntactic account, and finds the motivation for RD in the constraints that rule the stress alignment in Italian. But again, his model is based entirely on the assumption that given material undergoes RD. Surely, there is the need of more evidence, but these questions would indeed help to solve some of the most problematic aspects which emerged in the research, and to clarify the relation between different components of the linguistic competence. In conclusion, one of the most fascinating aspects of CLRD is that it keeps highlighting the limits of a singular component, be it syntactic or prosodic: CLRD shows the need of an interface analysis which takes into consideration multiple levels of linguistic representations by examining their mapping and their respective limits.

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